

George Channing

LIFE
AND
PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
GROVER CLEVELAND

TWENTY-SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
AND DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR
RE-ELECTION IN 1892.

WITH A SKETCH OF

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

NOMINEE FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY.

By W. U. HENSEL,

ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED

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CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE, EARLY LIFE, AND EDUCATION.

GROVER CLEVELAND was born at Caldwell, Essex County, N. J., on the 18th day of March, 1837. His father, Richard F. Cleveland, was a Presbyterian minister, the son of William Cleveland, a watchmaker, who lived at Norwich, Conn. His mother was Anna Neal, the daughter of an Irishman, a bookseller and publisher in Baltimore, Md., who had married Barbara Real, a German Quakeress, of Germantown, Pa. The child who has become President of the United States was baptized in infancy Stephen Grover, the name of his father's predecessor in the Caldwell pastorate, but early in life young Cleveland dropped the first name.

In 1841 the Rev. Richard F. Cleveland moved to Fayetteville, Onondaga County, N. Y. The family lived there nine years and then removed to Clinton, Oneida County, and in 1853 to Holland Patent, a small village fifteen miles north of Utica. Three weeks after he began his ministry here he died, leaving a widow and nine children, of whom Grover was the third.

The mother upon whom this sudden responsibility had fallen was a woman of dignified appearance, with a kindly face and unusual strength of

character. She combined the traits of her Irish and German ancestors. She lived to rear and educate her large family and died in April, 1882. Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland are buried in the cemetery at Holland Patent. Their children have erected a monument to mark their graves. It bears the following inscriptions:

Rev. R. F. CLEVELAND,

Pastor at
Holland Patent,
Died Oct. 1, 1853
Aged 49 years.

ANNA NEAL,

Wife of
R. F. Cleveland,
Died July 10, 1882,
Aged 78 years.
Her children arise up
And call her blessed.

Grover had received such teaching as the country schools could furnish. But his father's narrow means compelled him to earn his living as soon as possible, and when he was fourteen years of age he became a clerk in a country store at Fayetteville. His salary the first year was fifty dollars, and he was to have one hundred dollars the second year. The removal of the family to Clinton gave Grover an opportunity to attend the academy there, and he left Fayetteville before the end of the second year. At Clinton he pursued the usual preparatory studies, intending to enter

Hamilton College. But his father's death shut him out of college and compelled him to begin the struggle of life. He was then seventeen years old.

His elder brother William had found employment as a teacher in the New York Institution for the Blind, which is situated on Ninth Avenue between Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth streets. In October, 1853, William was appointed principal in the male department, and about the same time Grover was appointed his assistant. The pupils were taught orally, there being at that time few text-books which could be read by the sense of touch. Grover remained at the institution a little more than a year. He passed the winter of 1854-5 at his mother's house in Holland Patent. This was the last of his home life. A neighbor, the late Ingham Townsend, who had become interested in the youth, proposed to him that he should enter college with a view of making the ministry his profession, but the young man's mind was already fixed upon the law, and declining his friend's offer, he asked him for a loan of twenty-five dollars, to carry him to Cleveland, Ohio, where he hoped for employment in a lawyer's office. On his way west he stopped in Buffalo to visit his uncle, Lewis F. Allen. Mr. Allen, who is still living at an advanced age, was one of the most influential citizens of Buffalo. He was the owner of a large farm on Grand Island, in the Niagara

river, where he had a herd of short-horn cattle, and lived at Black Rock, formerly a separate town, but which had been lately annexed to Buffalo. Mr. Allen's house is pleasantly situated on the bank of the river, and in the midst of considerable grounds. It is an ample old-fashioned brick building, and was built by General Peter B. Porter, who lived there for many years. A broad hall runs from the front door to the western piazza, which commands a wide view of the Niagara and the Canadian shore. A mile or two to the north-west are the ruins of Fort Erie, the scene of desperate fighting during the War of 1812, in which General Porter had been greatly distinguished. At this point the river is an interesting sight. It sweeps by with a current of between six and seven miles an hour and its broad green surface is flecked with foam and broken by countless eddies. It is not difficult for one who looks upon the tumultuous river and listens to its deep voice to imagine that it feels some premonition of the agony which awaits it below. Grover was no stranger to his uncle's hospitable roof. He had made frequent visits there during his boyhood. He told Mr. Allen of his intention to go to Cleveland and study law. But his uncle strongly advised him to remain in Buffalo. The young man had no acquaintances in Cleveland, while Mr. Allen knew all the principal people in Buffalo and held close and friendly relations with

them. Mr. Allen had, not long before, begun the compilation of the "Short-horn Herd Book," and he proposed that Grover should assist him, offering him compensation and a comfortable home. In the autumn, on Mr. Allen's application, Grover entered the law office of Henry W. Rogers and Denis Bowen, who, under the firm name of Rogers & Bowen, did a large business at the bar of Erie County. Thus began Grover Cleveland's life in Buffalo.

It may be well enough to consider his surroundings. Buffalo was then a city with about one hundred thousand inhabitants. It was a commercial and manufacturing community, and held in its control the lake commerce, then growing into great dimensions. There were many notable men among its citizens. Mr. Fillmore had two years before left the Presidency and returned to live there. His neighbor, Nathan K. Hall, who had served in his cabinet as Postmaster-General, was United States Judge of the Northern District of New York. Solomon G. Haven, a lawyer of remarkable talent, then a member of Congress, was the leader of the bar. Retired from his profession and from politics was Albert H. Tracy, who may be described as the most interesting and distinguished figure in Buffalo at that time. He had been chosen to Congress before he was old enough to take his seat, and had served in the House of Representatives during the admin-

istrations of Monroe and John Quincy Adams, he had been for eight years in the State Senate; and in the Court of Errors he had won a judicial reputation, hardly inferior to any in the history of the State. He had acted both with the Whig and the Democratic parties. But it was his misfortune to be out of relation, in both instances, with the leader of his parties. He despised Jackson, and disliked Clay. He had assisted Seward, Weed, and Fillmore to create the Whig party, and left it in 1840, in the hour of its triumph. Mr. Webster tried to persuade him into Tyler's cabinet with the offer of the Treasury Department, but he declined, preferring, doubtless, to retain his Democratic associations which the acceptance of Mr. Webster's offer would have broken. Mr. Tracy never held office afterwards. He devoted so much of his time as was necessary to the care of his estate, but gave himself chiefly to reading and the society of those who interested him. Mr. Tracy exercised a great influence over all young men who came within his reach, and it is impossible to speak of Buffalo at that time without recalling his gracious presence, his kindly counsels and his delightful and instructive conversation. Mr. Allen was one of Mr. Tracy's intimate friends and the nephew was soon taken to the Tracy house.

The gentlemen who made the firm of Rogers & Bowen were both notable men. Henry W.

Rogers was a large man with a somewhat loud but hearty manner. He had at command a great store of anecdote, and without being witty he easily said smart things, and still more easily bitter ones. Mr. Rogers was the advocate of the firm, and was a strong jury lawyer.

Denis Bowen was a very different person. He was quiet and unobtrusive, never went into court, nor ever sought publicity. He was a master of detail, an excellent business lawyer, with a calm dispassionate judgment to which his clients trusted implicitly. Beneath a somewhat cold manner was hidden a most gentle disposition, and Denis Bowen was not only greatly respected, but greatly loved by those among whom he lived.

At that time upon the bench of the Superior Court were Isaac A. Verplanck, Joseph G. Masten and George W. Clinton. The latter of these is still extensively known, and I will, therefore, not speak of him. Judge Verplanck had a vigorous and thoroughly unpartial mind, and a huge unwieldy body. No one could ever find how much he weighed. He once made a journey to the plains in the stage-coach days, with Mr. Fargo and a party of gentlemen. It was arranged that the coach should be driven on to the scales at the next station and weighed, passengers and all, and then Verplanck's weight was to be got by deducting the weight of the coach and the other passengers. But no sooner did the driver pull up than the

Judge, who was as quick of mind as slow of body, saw what his friends were at, and jumped from the coach before its weight could be taken. Judge Verplanck was a good lawyer and an excellent judge. As a *nisi prius* judge he could not be excelled. His dislike of work made him impatient of delay, and eager to get through. Business before him was done rapidly. But it was in criminal cases that his generous heart showed itself. There was little danger that injustice would be done in his court to any criminal, however wretched, friendless, or guilty. Once he sent for a young lawyer and asked him to defend a man charged with murder. The youthful advocate pleaded his inexperience and dread of the responsibility. "Have no fear," said the Judge; "I will see to it that your client does not suffer." In private Judge Verplanck was the pleasantest of companions. He was fond of food, of wine and good company. There was no bitterness in his temper, but always a genial sunshine which made him welcome everywhere.

Joseph G. Masten was by far the most learned lawyer in Buffalo. Those who knew him and others well enough to judge, thought there was no better lawyer anywhere. Like Verplanck, he had a great social charm, and was a prominent figure in a society full of able and interesting men.

After the death of Mr. Haven, which took place

in 1861, John Garrison came to be the leader of the Buffalo bar. He had a clear and vigorous intellect and untiring industry. He had been carefully educated and thoroughly trained for his profession. No one could equal him in the care with which his causes were prepared, nor in the clearness with which, brushing aside all extraneous matter, he presented the essential points of his argument. He had no eloquence, but his lucidity and conciseness, and his instinct for the strong points of a case, made him a very successful advocate. He served with distinction in Congress and in the State Senate, and his sudden death, in 1874, brought to a close a career which was full of promise.

The principal person in Buffalo society at that time was Dr. Walter Cary, a gentleman widely known in this country and in Europe. The doctor had retired from his profession by reason of delicate health. A large estate and a ready disposition to new enterprises, gave him abundant occupation. Travel and society were his chief pleasures, and the influence of his example did much to give to Buffalo its reputation for hospitality.

Albert Haller Tracy was the oldest son of Albert H. Tracy, mentioned above. He and Grover Cleveland were about the same age. After his father's death, by which event he came into a large fortune, Tracy retired from the pro-

session in which he might easily have won distinction. He had a mind remarkable for judgment and moderation. His knowledge of men and affairs was extensive, his reading considerable, and his memory most retentive.

I have mentioned the most prominent men in the city in which Grover Cleveland had made his home, where his character was to be formed, his career begun, and where he was to find an entrance, if he ever did, into the path which should lead him to fame and greatness. I have, however, spoken only of the dead. There are many living persons who should be mentioned, if it were intended to make a complete description of the associations in which Cleveland found himself; but I am not permitted to speak of the living with the freedom which would be necessary.

It will thus be seen that before he was twenty years old, Cleveland had begun the study of his profession under most favorable circumstances. He was in the family of an uncle who lived comfortably and well. He was thrown into association with men of talent and distinction. He was in the employ of a firm of able and successful lawyers, who were entrusted with very important affairs.

Thenceforth there was no element of hardship in Cleveland's life. He probably never knew what want was. He had all that it was possible to have. He had opportunity as full and com-

plete as if he had been born to wealth. Indeed, he had, in the necessity for exertion, a stimulant and a training which wealth could not have given him. The transplanted tree had found a congenial soil.

Grover Cleveland remained with Rogers & Bowen, as student and clerk, until 1863. At the outbreak of the war, the question had come to him as to the duty he owed his country. While teaching in New York, and while studying in Buffalo, he had always sent whatever money he could spare to his mother. He was then earning enough to make his contributions of importance to the family. It was therefore decided that the two younger brothers should go to the army, and that the bread winner should stay and work for the support of his mother and sisters.

In 1872, these younger brothers, who had represented the family in the army during the Civil War, were drowned at sea, in the burning of the Steamship Missouri near the Island of Abaco, October 22d. In that disaster they exhibited unusual coolness and courage; they stood by the boats when they were lowered and helped the passengers into them, doing the work the frightened officers should have done. But when the boats were lowered there was no room for them and they went down with the ship.

CHAPTER II.

HIS CAREER AT THE BUFFALO BAR.

GROVER CLEVELAND had been admitted to the bar in 1859, and in January, 1863, he was appointed Assistant District Attorney for the County of Erie. This position brought young Cleveland into court, and accustomed him to the trial of causes. At that time the District Attorney had but one assistant, and upon him fell a large share of the work of the office. His industry and evenness of temper fitted him, peculiarly, for his duties, and he soon held a more important relation to the public business than it had been usual for an Assistant District Attorney to have. This was, perhaps, due, in part, to the fact that Mr. Torrance, the District Attorney, did not live in the city, but in a village twenty-five miles distant. He therefore naturally left much to the capable and industrious assistant, who was constantly at hand. The three years in the District Attorney's office were of great value to Cleveland. They gave him confidence in himself, accustomed him to the trial of causes and to addressing juries; enabled him to make a wide acquaintance among the people in the country

towns, as well as in the city, and attracted to him the attention of clients and the bar.

The Assistant District Attorneyship also brought him into politics. From the time of his acceptance of that office, he was known as a Democratic politician. Mr. Dean Richmond, a man of singular ability and force of character, was then the principal Democrat in Western New York, and governed local affairs with a firm hand. At the expiration of Mr. Torrance's term, Cleveland received the Democratic nomination for District Attorney. His nomination to so important an office, when he was only twenty-nine years old, is the strongest evidence that can be given of the standing he had obtained in the community and in his profession. His opponent was Lyman K. Bass, a young Republican lawyer, afterwards a member of Congress, and who has been prevented by ill-health from completely fulfilling the promise of his youth. After a heated canvass, Cleveland was beaten, a result not to be wondered at, for the county then usually went Republican. An old political friend well remembers meeting Cleveland the day after the election, and recalls the perfect coolness and good humor with which he took his defeat.

He at once resumed the practice of his profession, and soon formed a partnership with the late Isaac V. Vanderpool. In 1867, the late William Dorseimer having been appointed, by President John-

son, United States Attorney for the Northern District of New York, offered Cleveland an appointment as Assistant District Attorney. This offer he declined, for the reason that the duties of the office would require frequent absence from the city, and he preferred to attend to his rapidly-growing clientage. He soon after became associated with the late A. P. Lanning and Oscar Folsom, a young companion of Cleveland, who had taken the Assistant Attorneyship which the former had declined. The name of the new firm was Lanning, Cleveland & Folsom. The daughter of the last named gentleman is now the President's wife.

In the autumn of 1870, Cleveland's political friends offered him the nomination for sheriff of the county. "Now," said he, to a friend whose advice he asked, "I know that it is not usual for lawyers to be sheriffs. I do not remember of any lawyer being a sheriff. But, there are some reasons why I should consider the matter carefully. I have been compelled to earn my living since I was seventeen. I have never had time for reading, nor for thorough professional study. The sheriff's office would take me out of practice, but it would keep me about the courts, and in professional relations. It would give me considerable leisure, which I could devote to self-improvement. Besides, it would enable me to save a modest competency, and give me

the pecuniary independence which otherwise I may never have. I have come for your advice. What would you do in my place?"

His friend strongly recommended him to accept the nomination. He received the same advice from other friends. He took the nomination and was elected. Naturally, some of the duties of the sheriff's office were grievously distasteful to him, but he performed them with that strong sense of duty which has always characterized him.

He used the opportunities of the position as he had said he would. He made a considerable saving, and he gave his leisure time to professional and other studies. As soon as he returned to the bar the effect was noticeable. He was a stronger and a broader man than he had been before, and he at once took a higher place than he had ever held.

At the close of his term as sheriff, he formed a partnership with his old antagonist, Lyman K. Bass, and Wilson S. Bissell. Failing health compelled Mr. Bass to remove to Colorado, and afterwards Mr. George J. Sicard entered the firm, which was known as Cleveland, Bissell & Sicard. From this time, 1874, until his election as Mayor, Cleveland practiced his profession with constantly increasing success. He came to have great skill in trying causes, and his arguments to the court in banc were noticeable for lucidity and thoroughness. Many important matters were entrusted to

him, and before he again took office he was beginning to receive large fees. There can be no doubt that, had he remained at the bar, he would have won as great a success as the theatre in which he acted would permit.

But during these years of professional labor, Cleveland was not indifferent to politics. Indeed, he was all the time a counsellor of his party. After the death of Dean Richmond, in 1866, Joseph Warren, the editor of the *Courier*, became the head of the Democratic organization in Buffalo. He was a native of Vermont, who had, when a very young man, gone to Albany, and from there to Buffalo. He found employment in the editorial office of the *Courier*, while the late William A. Seaver was its proprietor and editor. Upon the retirement of Mr. Seaver, he succeeded to the control of the paper, and was one of its principal owners. Mr. Warren directed party affairs with great judgment and self-control. He never aspired to office himself, was very appreciative of the talents of others, and always ready to aid in advancing the fortunes of his friends. He was, besides, a promoter of all the generous enterprises which promised to add to the prosperity of the city. All the public institutions were aided by his wise counsel and unselfish labors. Mr. Warren was a warm friend of Cleveland's, and was one of the first to recognize his talents and predict his success. He died in 1876, and thenceforward

Cleveland was drawn into more responsible political relations. He was not willing to take the local leadership, which he might easily have had, for he could not give to it the necessary time and attention. But he served on party committees, and there was little done in party matters in Buffalo as to which his advice was not taken. When he went to Albany, many thought him ignorant of political methods. But they were greatly mistaken. Few men know practical politics better than he.

During all these years he had been a Democrat of Democrats. Through good report and evil report, he had stood with his party. Neither success nor defeat had, for an instant, diminished his allegiance or his zeal.

During the early period of Cleveland's Buffalo life the city had begun a new career. Its wealth had greatly increased, and a number of young men with more education than their elders had become active in affairs. A desire for a higher civilization began to show itself. The Young Men's Association, which maintained a small library and a course of public lectures in the winter, had long been the principal, and it may be said the only literary society. But it had languished upon a meagre income. During this time a movement was set afoot to secure an endowment for it. Through the exertion of several gentlemen, among whom the late S. V. R. Wat-

son was most prominent, a fund of between eighty and ninety thousand dollars was raised by subscription and the sale of life-memberships. A valuable property was purchased and the association provided with an abundant income. During this period the Buffalo Historical Society, of which Mr. Fillmore was the first president, was formed, and also the Buffalo Academy of Fine Arts. Both of these institutions excited the interest of the more liberal citizens. It doubtless seemed to many, an ambitious undertaking to establish an Academy of Fine Arts in a place so given over to business as Buffalo. Once, in those early days, Ralph Waldo Emerson went through the gallery, which was then largely made up of pictures on sale contributed by the artists of New York and Boston, but which also contained a number of works, the property of the academy, that were worthy of attention. Said the philosopher: "This has begun well and will come to something in the course of the ages." Indeed those who began the work knew as well as any one, how little could be done during their life-time, but they thought a beginning should be made. To this period, also, belongs the Society of Natural History, which owes its success chiefly to the scientific zeal of George W. Clinton.

Any traveler who, to-day, shall visit the institutions I have mentioned, and thoroughly examine their collections, will be surprised to find how

much has been accomplished in twenty-five years. He will see that Buffalo has become the centre of literary, artistic and scientific activities, and that forces have been set at work which are sure to strengthen with time, and to greatly influence the character of the place and the lives of its people.

Grover Cleveland was hardly old enough to take part in the beginning of these things. But he has done his share of work in building them up to their present prosperous state.

CHAPTER III.

THE MAYORALTY AND MUNICIPAL REFORM.

EIGHT years ago Grover Cleveland was, as has been seen, living quietly in Buffalo and practicing law. Neither he nor any one foresaw the career which was before him, and upon which he was soon to enter. This may be said without disparagement, for if any intelligent resident of Buffalo had been asked to name a citizen who was by nature fit to be Governor and President, he would have been more likely to mention Cleveland than any other man in the place.

The National defeat of 1880 had not seriously impaired Democratic strength in Buffalo, and when the municipal election of 1881 drew near there was a strong feeling that a proper person could be elected to the Mayoralty by the Democrats. City affairs were in an unsatisfactory state, and there was a general feeling in favor of municipal reform. The party leaders urged Cleveland to take the nomination. At first he refused, but it was pressed upon him with such urgency, and with so strong an appeal to his sense of duty, that he at last consented. His candidacy led to a spirited canvass, and to his election by a majority

of 3500, the largest ever known in the history of the city.

He took office as Mayor on the 1st day of January, 1882. He at once called to his side, as his secretary, Mr. Harmon S. Cutting, a devoted friend, and a lawyer of excellent standing and great experience, who was unrivalled for his knowledge of municipal law. Mr. Cleveland entered upon his office with a strong feeling that the affairs of the municipality should, so far as possible, be kept apart from party politics. He could not see why the paving, lighting, and cleaning of streets, should depend upon the exigencies of parties which had been formed upon lines of state or national policy. His first resolve was to do what he thought the interests of the city required, without reference to the effect his action would have upon either the Democratic or the Republican party. In his speech accepting the nomination for Mayor, he said: "There is, or there should be, no reason why the affairs of our city should not be managed with the same care and the same economy as private interests; and when we consider that public officials are the trustees of the people and hold their places and exercise their powers for the benefit of the people, there should be no higher inducement to a faithful and honest discharge of public duty." In his inaugural message, he used the following language:

"We hold the money of the people in our

hands, to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality, and it is quite apparent that, when any part of the funds which the taxpayers have thus intrusted to us are diverted to other purposes, or when, by design or neglect, we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than is necessary, we have, to that extent, violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations, whether a person is intrusted with the money of one man or many."

These two declarations laid down the rule by which he meant to be guided. A trust had been placed in his hands, and as a trust he intended to administer his office. The public moneys were to be dealt with as private moneys are dealt with, by a competent and honest trustee. This rule he at once rigidly applied to municipal affairs. He applied it, in a striking manner, to a resolution which was passed by the city council appropriating five hundred dollars to defray the expenses attending a proper observance of Decoration Day. It was proposed, that this sum of money should be paid out of what was known as the Fourth of July fund, and therefore the resolution was obnoxious to a provision in the charter of the city, which made it a misdemeanor to appropriate money raised for one purpose to any other object. Upon this ground he refused to approve the resolution. But he also placed his refusal upon broader

grounds. In his veto message, among other things, he said :

“I deem the object of this appropriation a most worthy one. The efforts of our veteran soldiers to keep alive the memory of their fallen comrades certainly deserves the aid and encouragement of their fellow-citizens. We should all, I think, feel it a duty and a privilege to contribute to the funds necessary to carry out such a purpose. And I should be much disappointed if an appeal to our citizens-for voluntary subscriptions for this patriotic object should be in vain.

“But the money so contributed should be a free gift of the citizens and taxpayers, and should not be extorted from them by taxation. This is so, because the purpose for which this money is asked does not involve their protection or interest as members of the community, and it may or may not be approved by them.

“The people are forced to pay taxes into the city treasury only upon the theory that such money shall be expended for public purposes, or purposes in which they all have a direct and practical interest.

“The logic of this position leads directly to the conclusion that, if the people are forced to pay their money into the public fund and it is spent by their servants and agents for purposes in which the people as taxpayers have no interest, the exaction of such taxes from them is oppressive and unjust.

"I cannot rid myself of the idea that this city government, in its relation to the taxpayers, is a business establishment, and that it is put in our hands to be conducted on business principles.

"This theory does not admit of our donating the public funds in the manner contemplated by the action of your honorable body.

"I deem it my duty, therefore, to return both of the resolutions herein referred to without my approval."

This act attracted the attention of the whole community. The leading newspapers, without distinction of party, gave it their approval. But in order that the object for which the money had been voted should be accomplished, a subscription was at once set afoot, which the Mayor headed by a liberal contribution. He soon had an opportunity to apply his principles to a more important matter. The City Council had awarded the contract for cleaning the streets for five years for the sum of four hundred and twenty-two thousand, five hundred dollars. Another party had offered to do the work for one hundred thousand dollars less, and the person to whom the contract had been given had himself, a few weeks before, proposed to perform the same service for fifty thousand less. This scandalous transaction was dealt with by the Mayor with a commendable directness and frankness; he returned the resolution with a message, which contained the following language :

“This is a time for plain speech, and my objection to the action of your honorable body now under consideration shall be plainly stated. I withhold my assent from the same, because I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people, and to worse than squander the public money.

“I will not be misunderstood in this matter. There are those whose votes were given for this resolution whom I cannot and will not suspect of a willful neglect of the interests they are sworn to protect; but it has been fully demonstrated that there are influences, both in and about your honorable body, which it behooves every honest man to watch and avoid with the greatest care.

“When cool judgment rules the hour, the people will, I hope and believe, have no reason to complain of the action of your honorable body. But clumsy appeals to prejudice or passion, insinuations, with a kind of low, cheap cunning, as to the motives and purposes of others, and the mock heroism of brazen effrontery which openly declares that a wholesome public sentiment is to be set at naught, sometimes deceives and leads honest men to aid in the consummation of schemes, which, if exposed, they would look upon with abhorrence.

“If the scandal in connection with this street cleaning contract, which has so aroused our citizens, shall cause them to select and watch with

more care those to whom they intrust their interests, and if it serves to make all of us who are charged with official duties more careful in their performance, it will not be an unmitigated evil.

"We are fast gaining positions in the grades of public stewardship. There is no middle ground. Those who are not for the people, either in or out of your honorable body, are against them, and should be treated accordingly."

This bold and honorable act attracted wide attention, and laid the foundation of a reputation which soon extended throughout the State.

Mr. Cleveland continued to apply to the affairs of Buffalo the same inflexible rule of administering his office as though it were a trust. There can be no doubt that the result was a success greater than has ever been accomplished upon so narrow a political field as a single municipality. At home, the favor which he obtained was quite universal. All party differences disappeared before a public officer who performed his duties with so complete a reference to the general welfare.

During the short term of his mayoralty there were several occasions which compelled him to speak upon important topics. But whatever subject he dealt with was presented in the light of the principle he had from the first declared should guide his conduct. In speaking at the semi-centennial celebration of the foundation of the city, July 3d, 1882, he said :

“We boast of our citizenship to-night. *But this citizenship brings with it duties not unlike those we owe our neighbor and our God.* There is no better time than this for self-examination. He who deems himself too pure and holy to take part in the affairs of his city, will meet the fact that better men than he have thought it their duty to do so. He who cannot spare a moment in his greed and selfishness to devote to public concerns, will, perhaps, find a well-grounded fear that he may become the prey of public plunderers; and he who indolently cares not who administers the government of his city, will find that he is living falsely, and in the neglect of his highest duty.”

When laying the corner-stone of the Young Men's Christian Association building, on the 7th of September, 1882, he used the following language:

“We all hope and expect that our city has entered upon a course of unprecedented prosperity and growth. But to my mind not all the signs about us point more surely to real greatness than the event which we here celebrate. *Good and pure government lies at the foundation of the wealth and progress of every community.* As the chief executive of this proud city, I congratulate all my fellow-citizens that to-day we lay the foundation stone of an edifice which shall be a beautiful ornament, and, what is more important, shall enclose within its walls such earnest Christian

endeavors as must make easier all our efforts to administer safely and honestly a good municipal government."

These utterances disclose the high moral purpose in which his whole nature seemed to be absorbed, and which he was, in a measure, compelled to profess upon every occasion when he was required to address the people. Perhaps there was no occasion on which he made so clear a revelation of himself and his character as by the address which he delivered on the 9th of April, 1882, when taking the chair at a mass meeting to protest against the treatment of American citizens imprisoned abroad. This short speech is worthy of the careful attention of all those who wish to understand his mind and character:

"FELLOW CITIZENS.—This is the formal mode of address on occasions of this kind, but I think we seldom realize fully its meaning or how valuable a thing it is to be a citizen.

"From the earliest civilization to be a citizen has been to be a free man, endowed with certain privileges and advantages, and entitled to the full protection of the State. The defense and protection of the personal rights of its citizens has always been the paramount and most important duty of a free, enlightened government.

"And perhaps no government has this sacred trust more in its keeping than this—the best and freest of them all; for here the people who are to

be protected are the source of those powers which they delegate upon the express compact that the citizen shall be protected. For this purpose we chose those who, for the time being, shall manage the machinery which we have set up for our defense and safety.

“ And this protection adheres to us in all lands and places as an incident of citizenship. Let but the weight of a sacrilegious hand be put upon this sacred thing, and a great strong government springs to its feet to avenge the wrong. Thus it is that the native born American citizen enjoys his birthright. But when, in the westward march of empire, this nation was founded and took root, we beckoned to the Old World, and invited hither its immigration, and provided a mode by which those who sought a home among us might become our fellow citizens. They came by thousands and hundreds of thousands ; they came and

Hewed the dark old woods away,
And gave the virgin fields to day ;

they came with strong sinews and brawny arms to aid in the growth and progress of a new country ; they came, and upon our altars laid their fealty and submission ; they came to our temples of justice, and under the solemnity of an oath renounced all allegiance to every other State, potentate and sovereignty, and surrendered to us all the duty pertaining to such allegiance. We

have accepted their fealty, and invited them to surrender the protection of their native land.

“And what should be given them in return? Manifestly, good faith and every dictate of honor demand that we give them the same liberty and protection here and elsewhere which we vouchsafe to our native-born citizens. And that this has been accorded to them is the crowning glory of American institutions.

“It needed not the statute, which is now the law of the land, declaring that all ‘naturalized citizens while in foreign lands are entitled to and shall receive from this government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens,’ to voice the policy of our nation.

“In all lands where the semblance of liberty is preserved, the right of a person arrested to a speedy accusation and trial is, or ought to be, a fundamental law, as it is a rule of civilization.

“At any rate, we hold it to be so, and this is one of the rights which we undertake to guarantee to any native-born or naturalized citizen of ours, whether he be imprisoned by order of the Czar of Russia or under the pretext of a law administered for the benefit of the landed aristocracy of England.

“We do not claim to make laws for other countries, but we do insist that whatever those laws may be they shall, in the interests of human

freedom and the rights of mankind, so far as they involve the liberty of our citizens, be speedily administered. We have a right to say, and do say, that mere suspicion without examination or trial, is not sufficient to justify the long imprisonment of a citizen of America. Other nations may permit their citizens to be thus imprisoned. Ours will not. And this in effect has been solemnly declared by statute.

"We have met here to-night to consider this subject and to inquire into the cause and the reasons and the justice of the imprisonment of certain of our fellow-citizens now held in British prisons without the semblance of a trial or legal examination. Our law declares that the government shall act in such cases. But the people are the creators of the government.

"The undaunted apostle of the Christian religion imprisoned and persecuted, appealing centuries ago to the Roman law and the rights of Roman citizenship, boldly demanded: "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?"

"So, too, might we ask, appealing to the law of our land and the laws of civilization: 'Is it lawful that these our fellows be imprisoned who are American citizens and uncondemned?'

"I deem it an honor to be called upon to preside at such a meeting, and I thank you for it. What is your further pleasure?"

CHAPTER IV.

THE DEMOCRATIC CANVASS FOR GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK IN 1882.

THE year 1882 was one of political reaction and surprising revolution. The death of Garfield, the succession of Arthur, the changes in Cabinet and policy, the withdrawal of Senators Conkling and Platt and their failure of re-election, and the defeat of the regular Republican caucus nominee for United States Senator in Pennsylvania, convulsed the politics of the two principal States of the Union. In the Empire and Keystone States the movements of leaders controlled the fortunes of the two great parties in whose councils these Commonwealths were supreme. Men were everywhere looking to the Gubernatorial contests of the year to shape the next Presidential campaign and to influence the control of the Federal Administration, perhaps, for many years to come.

In New York city and Brooklyn, where the contention of the Tammany Society and County Democracy had distracted their party for years past and led to its defeat in the Gubernatorial campaign of 1879, rival candidates were pre-



STATE STREET AND CAPITOL, ALBANY, NEW YORK.

sented in such well-known personages as Roswell P. Flower and General Henry W. Slocum. The former was recognized as having the favor of Tammany Hall; he had wealth, extended business reputation, and the experience of a term in Congress. General Slocum was one of the worthiest and most popular soldiers in the War for the Union, and had proved his eminent fitness for civil duties in Congress. They were pressed with a zeal that bid fair to lead to intense bitterness and possibly to disastrous dissension. Two influences operated to avert the threatened collision.

While the local pride of Buffalo was enlisted to promote to the Chief Magistracy of the State the Mayor who had served his city so well, and while his most ardent supporters there were found among the Republicans who had contributed to his municipal victory, the eyes of the cool-headed party managers at Albany had been turned to the "availability" of a candidate who had already exhibited marked elements of political strength, and who was remote from the local distraction of the various halls and factions of the great cities of Eastern New York. Mr. Manning and others of the discreet and sagacious politicians who controlled the party organization fully satisfied themselves that in the Mayor of Buffalo were to be found qualities of successful leadership for the campaign then before the party. The del-

egates from Western New York were solidly for him. The Tammany people gladly espoused his cause rather than risk defeat. On the third ballot in the State Convention their delegates went to Cleveland and his nomination was secured.

As soon as the canvass opened it was seen that the choice had been a wise one. The movement for Cleveland rose in the West to a great height and ran swiftly through the State. Everywhere factional differences were swept away. In New York the adherents of Tammany and of the County and Irving Hall organizations united in support of the State ticket, and upon all other important nominations.

Meantime, in other States, events were progressing well calculated to inspire the Democrats. In Connecticut, Thomas M. Waller led the battle which ended in victory. In Massachusetts, a combination of Democrats and Independents, under the banner of General B. F. Butler, was wresting the State from Republican control. In Pennsylvania, the Independent Republican candidacy of John Stewart, and the nomination of General James A. Beaver by the regular organization, made easy the election of Robert E. Pattison.

The Republican dissensions were increased in proportion to the growth of Democratic union and enthusiasm. Those Republicans who were disposed to vote against their party, were not deterred by fear of failure. The certainty of

Cleveland's election increased the temptation to aid his cause. Thousands were eager to add to the weight of the blow which was to fall on the Administration and its friends. The Republican candidate was an eminent citizen. He had shown high abilities in many public employments. His character was without a stain. He had been Chief Justice of the State ; and a long career on the bench had won for him that general esteem and public favor which successful judicial service almost always wins. But the more worthy the candidate the more impressive the lesson of his defeat. The murder of Garfield was to be avenged ; party chains were to be broken ; the forgery of a telegram was to be punished, and Republican independence and manhood were to be asserted. The party difficulties were very materially increased also by the attitude of leading men.

Mr. Evarts, who had always been ready to give his elaborate eloquence to his party, was silent, and what was of far more importance, Roscoe Conkling also was silent. For more than a decade he had been the Republican advocate. His popular triumphs had been without precedent. In 1872, when Republican supremacy was threatened by a revolt, formidable on account of the number and the character of the rebels, he excited the Republicans who remained faithful to their party to unexampled efforts ; efforts which created a Demo-

cratic supineness far more effective at the polls than the liberal Republican rebellion. In 1876 he had held his party together amid great discouragements, and upon a lost field. He had afterwards stood aloof from the intrigues by which Mr. Tilden had been deprived of the office to which he had been elected. In 1880, at a time when Republican defeat seemed to be certain—when Mr. Blaine had been beaten in Maine, and the October elections in Ohio and Indiana were in the greatest doubt—he reluctantly came forward to aid a candidate whom he distrusted and despised. He threw himself into the canvass with all his accustomed zeal. Those who have never heard Mr. Conkling addressing a great meeting can have but little idea of the vigor, brilliancy, and fiery energy of his picturesque eloquence. The effect of his speeches at the West, and in his own State, cannot be over-stated. Never, in our politics, has any one made such a display of personal power. But in 1882 he was silent. It is not necessary to explain here the causes of his silence. Its effects were to be seen plainly enough by all who watched the events of that year.

The Republican disaffection grew more powerful every day. Party journals, like the *Buffalo Express*, openly advocated Cleveland's election. The *Albany Journal*, the *New York Times*, and the *Tribune* gave Judge Folger but a cold sup-

port. The friends of Garfield wished his defeat. The friends of Conkling wished his defeat; and to these discontents, added to Democratic enthusiasm, the friends of President Arthur could make but little resistance. The Republican treasury was without funds, and had the canvass lasted two weeks longer, the Republican cause would probably have been practically abandoned. The election resulted in a majority of one hundred and ninety-two thousand for Grover Cleveland; in the election of twenty-one Democratic members of the House of Representatives, and of a large majority in the State Assembly. The wisdom of those who had advised Mr. Cleveland's nomination was abundantly vindicated by this overwhelming victory.

In that hour of triumph there was one man whose mind was filled with anxiety. The Democratic candidate had, during the canvass, borne himself modestly, and had passed his time in the duties of his office. He heard the news of his success with joy, indeed, but it was a joy tempered by a sense of the undefined responsibilities which lay before him. This feeling showed itself in the speech which he made the night of his election at the Manhattan Club, and even more strongly in the address which he made upon taking the oath of office.

To many, the governorship thus attained suggested the presidency. If this high anticipation

came to him, as it did to others, it made no change in his demeanor. Deliberately and calmly he began to prepare for his departure, and performed the preliminary work in the composition of his message and the selection of his staff, as unostentatiously as if they were in the ordinary course of his daily employment.

"If chance will have one king, why, chance may crown me
Without my stir."

CHAPTER V.

FIRST YEAR AS GOVERNOR.

THE office of Governor of the State of New York has long been considered the fit reward for men of large experience in public life, great natural parts, and high personal character. It has seldom been filled by a small man or by a mere seeker after place and power. From the earliest days of the history of the State it has been looked upon, not only in the State of New York itself, but throughout the Union, as an office scarcely lower in dignity and importance than the Presidency of the United States.

During the early political history of New York as a State in the Union the Presidency was practically monopolized by Virginia and Massachusetts. During this time, however, the Vice-Presidency, then deemed of much greater relative importance than now, and generally representing the second choice of the electors for President, was filled for five terms out of a possible six by natives and residents of New York between the time of the accession of Thomas Jefferson and the retirement of James Monroe. Two of the men so honored, George Clinton and Daniel D. Tompkins, had

been Governors of their State. With the election of Martin Van Buren to the Presidency, in 1836, the Presidency ceased to be the heritage of any one or two States of the Union, and since that time the country has always looked with hope and expectancy to the Gubernatorial choice of the State of New York for men to honor with the Presidency of the United States. The names of Silas Wright, William L. Marcy, William H. Seward, Horatio Seymour, and Samuel J. Tilden are familiar household words in our political history as aspirants for nomination or election to the high office of President. Of these, only the two latter ever received the recognition of nomination, and the latter was the only Governor of his State elected to the Presidency after the success of Mr. Van Buren in 1836.

With all these examples at hand, it should have been no occasion for surprise that Grover Cleveland was looked upon with unusual interest after his election to the Governorship by a majority unprecedented in the history of the politics of American States. That he was comparatively little known added to this interest. The element of surprise that a man of such slight experience in the larger politics of the State should have been nominated and elected was reinforced by a feeling of anticipation, an eager demand to know what he would do in the office, now that he had reached it under such exceptional

circumstances. He had not come to the office as the result of political management, of long service in one or the other branch of the Legislature, nor of great and widely recognized distinction in his profession. He was simply known as an honest man, of good ability, who, in whatever station he had been called to fill, had done his duty without fear or favor. While this lack of familiarity with politics and political movements undoubtedly had its drawbacks and disadvantages, which raised in the mind of the new Governor many doubts and apprehensions, it had many compensations. It left him free-handed and independent. He was not tied up with obligations to persons, localities, or interests. Trained to consider questions on their merits by the exacting duties of long practice of the law, he could look fairly and fully at every public question as it came up, and decide as his judgment and honesty of purpose would direct.

The people of New York were not long in finding out that this was the very thing which Governor Cleveland was determined to do. His first message was something of a disappointment, only because events had moved so rapidly in bringing him into unnatural prominence as to raise extravagant expectations. But it was mainly disappointing because it lacked the self-assertive dogmatism which the people of New York had long been trained to expect from a Governor, especially from a new one.

But familiarity with the duties and obligations, as well as with the power and the rights conferred upon the Governorship, came rapidly. Then the hesitation disappeared, and the people of the country, as well as those of New York, found that Grover Cleveland not only knew how to govern, but that he was determined to be Governor.

He early learned to use without mercy the weapon of the veto power, almost autocratically lodged with the Governor of New York by the new Constitution. Between the 26th of January and the 1st of March he sent to the Legislature eight veto messages. These documents clearly disclose his purposes. In one, he refused to permit the county of Montgomery to borrow money. In another he refused his consent to an amendment of the charter of Elmira which was intended to change the liability of the city for injuries received in consequence of the streets being in an unsafe and dangerous condition. He refused his signature to a bill which would have relieved the library association of Fredonia from the payment of local taxes, and to one that authorized the county of Chautauqua to appropriate money for a soldiers' monument. He vetoed an act authorizing the village of Fayetteville, where he had lived during his boyhood, to borrow money for the purpose of purchasing a steam fire-engine, and also one authorizing the village of Mechanicsville to borrow money for the same purpose.

By these vetoes he showed that he was determined to adhere to the rule which had governed him while Mayor of Buffalo, and to deal with the public moneys on the principle that officials are the trustees of the people.

He did not, however, confine his use of the veto power to bills intended to prevent the expenditure of small sums of money by village or town or county authorities. He even dared to run the risk of unpopularity by the veto of a bill fixing a uniform rate of five cents as fare on the elevated railroads of the city of New York. That city had suffered severely by the unjust exactions of the roads in question, and a strong popular sentiment had been developed which demanded that new restrictions should be imposed. But the form in which the Legislature sought to embody this sentiment was so unsatisfactory and its effects would have been so far-reaching that the Governor saw danger and injustice ahead. It was insisted by opponents of the measure, who had no interest in the roads involved, that for a commercial community like New York to disregard the implied obligation which had arisen between the State and its citizens, and between the State and citizens of other States and countries, would be, in the judgment of many thoughtful men, a dangerous and pernicious act. This latter view was taken by the Governor in the following extract from his veto message:

"But we have especially in our keeping the honor and good faith of a great State, and we should see to it that no suspicion attaches, through any act of ours, to the fair fame of the Commonwealth. The State should not only be strictly just, but scrupulously fair, and in its relations to the citizen every legal and moral obligation should be recognized. This can only be done by legislating without vindictiveness or prejudice, and with a firm determination to deal justly and fairly with those from whom we exact obedience."

He rejected the advice given in many quarters to permit the bill to become a law without his signature, and put himself upon high ground by saying in his message, "I am convinced, that in all cases the share which falls upon the Executive regarding the legislation of the State, should be in no manner evaded, but fairly met by the expression of his carefully guarded and unbiased judgment."

This courage challenged admiration even from those who did not agree with his position and who differed from him in political opinion. The result was to give him popularity with people of his State, because they were convinced that whatever he did, whatever position he took, their safety and their interests would be consulted.

The same independent position was assumed in dealing with bills reorganizing the Fire Department in Buffalo, a measure which would have con-



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ferred a supposed advantage upon his own party. Other bills affecting the city of New York and having back of them considerable support in public sentiment, were subjected to the same relentless examination and rejected when it appeared to the Governor that they did not accord with the interests of the people of his State.

During his first year as Governor it fell to his lot to make a large number of appointments to fill vacancies in public offices. He undertook to apply to this duty the same principles which governed his conduct in dealing with questions more strictly financial or business in their scope. He gave heed to the demands of his party, recognizing in general that it is neither possible nor desirable to separate important or responsible places from accountability to the sentiment dominant among the people of a given locality. But this devotion to his own party was always accompanied by the most exacting demands of fitness, capacity and character in the applicant. Wherever it was possible to do so he recognized the system of merit by which men having special fitness or experience in given lines were promoted. He made the assistant in the Insurance Department its chief; he appointed a builder of character as Commissioner of the Capitol, and made a business man, whose qualifications he knew, Superintendent of the same building. The Superintendency of Public Works, a place which

had often been filled by mere partisans with little regard to fitness, was given to a man whose long experience in the management of the canals had made him practical and thorough. The Railroad Commission, the appointment of the original members of which was imposed upon Mr. Cleveland during his first year's service as Governor, was selected with such judgment that the choice gave general party and public satisfaction. It justified his confidence and that of the people of the State by doing its work so faithfully and well that there has probably been less irritation or ill-feeling between the people and the railroads in New York than in any other State in the Union.

For several years the labor question had been gradually coming to the front in New York as one of the most important to be dealt with by political parties, Legislatures, and executive officers. The peculiar character of the working people of New York city had had much to do with giving the question importance. In addition to maintaining its supremacy as the first commercial city of the Western world, it had recently become the largest centre for manufacturing industries. This had the effect of introducing a population which for variety in origin, ideas, and interests could be found nowhere else. Many impracticable measures were proposed from time to time by the accepted representatives of the labor interests, together with others which were

principally distinguished for crudeness and inefficiency. Some such measures had been permitted to become laws, perhaps, in some cases, from an honest desire on the part of Legislators and Governors, but in most instances to appease what was supposed to be the demands of a large and commanding vote.

The platform of the Convention by which Mr. Cleveland had been nominated gave distinct pledges committing the Democratic party in New York to the enactment of certain legislation in the interest of labor. These were accepted by Mr. Cleveland in his letter of acceptance in the following language :

"The platform of principles adopted by the Convention meets with my hearty approval. The doctrines therein enunciated are so distinctly and explicitly stated that their amplification seems scarcely necessitated. If elected to the office for which I have been nominated, I shall endeavor to impress them upon my administration and make them the policy of the State."

Further on, in the same letter, he says :

"The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil, and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman."

The Legislature did its part toward redeeming these promises, and bills for the establishment of a Bureau of Labor Statistics, for prohibiting the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses, and forbidding the manufacture of woolen hats in penitentiaries were passed by the Legislature and signed by the Governor.

But even in dealing with labor questions he did not yield his judgment to popular clamor when convinced that a proposed law affecting interests of large bodies of men were either impracticable or dangerous in principle. For this reason, he refused to sign a bill which reached him late in the legislative session, known as the "Car Conductors' and Drivers' Bill;" it proposed to prohibit the exaction of more than twelve hours for a day's work on street railways. This action was not taken because of any disapproval of the objects sought to be accomplished by the proposed law, but upon purely legal and constitutional grounds. The bill was defective and unskillfully drawn in that the right of contract between street car companies and their employes was not interfered with. It was clear that the law could never be enforced, as experience had already shown in other States.

The session of the first Legislature under Mr. Cleveland's administration as Governor of the State of New York closed with credit to himself. He had worked hard and faithfully to redeem the

promises made by himself and his party, and had achieved a larger degree of success than generally comes to men under such circumstances. He had maintained and increased the respect felt for his honesty and faithfulness throughout the State, and had become widely known in every section of the Union. His relations with his own party were, in general, good, in spite of the fact that they had been severely strained with certain sections of it. Already his name had been very generally discussed as that of a man who was most likely to enable his party to regain in the Union that power which it had lost twenty-three years before. But he made no avowals, and was not, apparently, to be turned either to the right or to the left by this consideration. He simply did his duty as it came to him, leaving the future to take care of itself.

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND YEAR AS GOVERNOR.

IN his second annual message Grover Cleveland showed that he felt easy in the place as well as liked it—something which he confessed to his friends. He showed more and more confidence in himself and in his ability to satisfy both the people of his State and himself in carrying out its duties. There was no longer uncertainty or hesitation. He showed that he knew what measures the best interests of the State demanded, and he recommended them with that dogmatism so much admired by the people of New York, and which ever wins for public men increasing popularity among intelligent people.

Among the most important of the questions with which he came to deal was the relations of corporations to the State. It had long been apparent that many evils were growing up about these associations of men and money, and earnest men of intelligence and conscience had sought some way of meeting what seemed to them a serious danger. There was general agreement to the proposition that if the widest publicity could be given to the accounts of corporations

created by the State the beginning of the end of the evil would be reached. The Governor considered this phase of the question at some length in his second annual message, from which the following views are extracted :

“ It would, in my opinion, be a most valuable protection to the people if other large corporations were obliged to report to some department their transactions and financial condition.

“ The State creates these corporations upon the theory that some proper thing of benefit can be better done by them than by private enterprise, and that the aggregation of the funds of many individuals may be thus profitably employed. They are launched upon the public with the seal of the State, in some sense, upon them. They are permitted to represent the advantages they possess and the wealth sure to follow from admission to membership. In one hand is held a charter from the State, and in the other is proffered their stock.

“ It is a fact, singular though well established, that people will pay their money for stock in a corporation engaged in enterprises in which they would refuse to invest if in private hands.

“ It is a grave question whether the formation of these artificial bodies ought not to be checked or better regulated, and in some way supervised.

“ At any rate, they should always be kept well in hand, and the funds of its citizens should be

protected by the State which has invited their investment. While the stockholders are the owners of the corporate property, notoriously they are oftentimes completely in the power of the directors and managers, who acquire a majority of the stock and by this means perpetuate their control, using the corporate property and franchises for their benefit and profit, regardless of the interests and rights of the minority of stockholders. Immense salaries are paid to officers; transactions are consummated by which the directors make money, while the rank and file among the stockholders lose it; the honest investor waits for dividends and the directors grow rich. It is suspected, too, that large sums are spent under various disguises in efforts to influence legislation.

"The State should either refuse to allow these corporations to exist under its authority and patronage, or, acknowledging their paternity and its responsibility, should provide a simple, easy way for its people, whose money is invested, and the public generally, to discover how the funds of these institutions are spent, and how their affairs are conducted. It should at the same time provide a way by which the squandering or misuse of corporate funds would be made good to the parties injured thereby.

"This might well be accomplished by requiring corporations to frequently file reports made out with the utmost detail, and which would not allow

lobby expenses to be hidden under the pretext of legal services and counsel fees, accompanied by vouchers and sworn to by the officers making them, showing particularly the debts, liabilities, expenditures, and property of the corporation. Let this report be delivered to some appropriate department or officer, who shall audit and examine the same; provide that a false oath to such account shall be perjury, and make the directors liable to refund to the injured stockholders any expenditure which shall be determined improper by the auditing authority.

“Such requirements might not be favorable to stock speculation, but they would protect the innocent investors; they might make the management of corporations more troublesome, but this ought not to be considered when the protection of the people is the matter in hand. It would prevent corporate efforts to influence legislation; the honestly conducted and strong corporations would have nothing to fear; the badly managed and weak ought to be exposed.”

It would be difficult to find in the record of any of our public men so well-considered a plan as that here presented, dealing with the glaring evils of legislative and official corruption.

It was only natural that Grover Cleveland should devote much time, thought, and attention to the discussion of municipal affairs. His first political office, and that from which he had taken

his way into the higher walks of public life, was that of Mayor of Buffalo. During the time he occupied that office he brought to the discharge of its duties a purpose to do what lay in his power toward making his city a place where health, the material independence of its citizens, and their mental and moral growth might all be promoted. It was in the Mayoralty that he insisted upon a decent economy and the most scrupulous fidelity to all the trusts imposed by public office. In his first message to the Legislature he had said:

“They [municipal governments] should be so organized as to be simple in their details, and to cast upon the people affected thereby the full responsibility of their administration. The different departments should be in such accord as in their operation to lead toward the same results. Divided counsels and divided responsibility to the people, on the part of municipal officers, it is believed, give rise to much that is objectionable in the government of cities. If, to remedy this evil, the chief executive should be made answerable to the people for the proper conduct of the city's affairs, it is quite clear that his power in the selection of those who manage its different departments should be greatly enlarged.”

And again he said:

“It is not only the right of the people to administer their local government, but it should be made

their duty to do so. Any departure from this doctrine is an abandonment of the principles upon which our institutions are founded, and a concession of the infirmity and partial failure of the theory of a representative form of government.

“If the aid of the Legislature is invoked to further projects which should be subject to local control and management, suspicion should be at once aroused, and the interference sought should be promptly and sternly refused.

“If local rule is in any instance bad, weak, or inefficient, those who suffer from maladministration have the remedy within their own control. If, through their neglect or inattention, it falls into unworthy hands, or if bad methods and practices gain a place in its administration, it is neither harsh nor unjust to remit those who are responsible for those conditions to their self-invited fate, until their interest, if no better motive, prompts them to an earnest and active discharge of the duties of good citizenship.”

The Legislature of 1884, accepting this theory and acting upon what was the drift of discussion in the city of New York, passed an elaborate bill depriving the Board of Aldermen of the power of confirmation of appointments to certain offices in that city, and lodging this power in the hands of the Mayor without restriction. In some respects the new law did not meet the opinions of the Governor, but he signed it, filing with the newly made

law a memorandum of the reasons which had led him to take this action. Under this law the improved condition of municipal politics in the city of New York has become apparent. The Board of Aldermen, shorn of their coveted power of confirmation, has not been able to maintain the old and unnatural importance which had been given to it; the politics of the city has had opportunity to lose its old-time reputation for bargains and bargaining, and there is a very apparent improvement in the character, not only of the officials appointed by the Mayor, but of those elected by the people as well. Much of this is due to Mr. Cleveland's recognition of the need of a change in municipal methods, suggested by his own experience and elaborated by his industry and ability. That much still remains to be done no man will question, but with the interest which has been excited in such questions and the intelligence which is being brought to bear upon it there can be no serious doubt of the result. When this is assured history will give due credit for it to the man who is now President of the United States.

As Governor, Mr. Cleveland recognized the importance of the National Guard of New York, and did much to revive interest in its citizen soldiery. He selected his staff not for ornamental purposes, as is so often the case with the militia of the several States, but with a view of getting the most efficient practical results. He was care-

ful to promote the true interests of the soldiers who served in the Union army during the Civil War, approving measures giving soldiers and sailors preference for employment upon public works, and the provision for completing the records of New York regiments and other military organizations and for their safe keeping.

The pardoning power, one of the most responsible duties of the Governor, was exercised with care, and at the same time with greater frequency than usual. His legal training and practice had evidently convinced him that the power of traversing the sentences of the vast number and variety of courts in a State like New York was one which imposed the most serious responsibilities upon the Governor. The constant tendency on the part of a certain class of judges to impose "cruel and unusual punishments" is one of the most serious of the time, and one which constantly needs to be reviewed in order that justice may be tempered with that mercy which is its highest attribute.

Among the more important measures passed was an Act providing for the appointment of a Commission to select and set apart such lands as might be found necessary for the preservation of the scenery at Niagara Falls. All the islands immediately above the falls, and the lands upon the main shore, had early in the century been sold to private citizens. Some of them have been devoted

to manufacturing purposes, the forests upon the mainland have been cut down, and a process of deterioration has begun which, if continued, will soon destroy the charm and interest which Niagara has had as an object of natural beauty and sublimity.

It had been some time in contemplation to preserve Niagara by creating a State reservation, by removing unsightly constructions, and restoring, so far as practicable, the scenery to its original character. The efforts in this direction had been thwarted by the action of Governor Cornell, who had indicated that if the proposed measure was passed he would refuse to sign it. Governor Cleveland, however, showed a generous disposition to the undertaking, and encouraged the passage of the bill. This law has since been carried into complete effect with the most satisfactory results, and the State Reservation at Niagara Falls promises in due time to become one of the most striking of the landscape features of the State. Already many of the serious abuses which formerly met visitors to that great natural wonder have been removed. The Dominion of Canada has, on its part, carried on the work on the opposite side of the river.*

* Much of the credit for the success of the New York undertaking must be ascribed to the late William Dorsheimer, who was by appointment one of the original, as he was the most active, of the Commissioners having the work in charge.

In brief, every question which engaged the attention or the energies of the people of the great State of New York found in Mr. Cleveland during his "service" as Governor the most intelligent and industrious encouragement. The reform of the State Civil Service system, the protection and preservation of the forests of the Adirondacks, the promotion of education and industry, found in the Governor of the State their most active and intelligent support.

A speech which the Governor made at the Albany High School contains some observations which must have been derived from his own experience. It is here given both as an expression of his opinions upon important subjects, and by reason of its biographical value. He said:

"I accepted the invitation of your principal to visit your school this morning with pleasure, because I expected to see much that would gratify and interest me. In this I have not been disappointed. But I must confess that if I had known that my visit here involved my attempting to address you, I should have hesitated, and quite likely have declined the invitation.

"I hasten to assure you now that there is not the slightest danger of my inflicting a speech upon you, and that I shall do but little more than to express my pleasure in the proof I have of the excellence of the methods and management of the school, and of the opportunities which those who

attend have within their reach of obtaining a superior education.

"I never visit a school in these days without contrasting the advantages of the scholar of to-day with those of a time not many years in the past. Within my remembrance even, the education which is freely offered you was only secured by those whose parents were able to send them to academies and colleges. And thus, when you entered this school very many of you began where your parents left off.

"The theory of the State in furnishing more and better schools for the children, is that it tends to fit them to better perform their duties as citizens, and that an educated man or woman is apt to be more useful as a member of the community.

"This leads to the thought that those who avail themselves of the means thus tendered them are in duty bound to make such use of their advantages as that the State shall receive in return the educated and intelligent citizens and members of the community which it has the right to expect from its schools. You, who will soon be the men of the day, should consider that you have assumed an obligation to fit yourselves by the education, which you may, if you will, receive in this school, for the proper performance of any duty of citizenship, and to fill any public station to which you may be called. And it seems to me to be none



GOVERNOR'S ROOM IN STATE CAPITOL AT ALBANY, N. Y.

the less important that those who are to be the wives and mothers should be educated, refined, and intelligent. To tell the truth, I should be afraid to trust the men, educated though they should be, if they were not surrounded by pure and true womanhood. Thus it is that you all, now and here, from the oldest to the youngest, owe a duty to the State which can only be answered by diligent study and the greatest possible improvement. It is too often the case that in all walks and places the disposition is to render the least possible return to the State for the favors which she bestows.

“If the consideration which I have mentioned fails to impress you, let me remind you of what you have often heard, that you owe it to yourselves and the important part of yourselves to seize, while you may, the opportunities to improve your minds, and store into them, for your own future use and advantage, the learning and knowledge now fairly within your reach.

“None of you desire or expect to be less intelligent or educated than your fellows. But unless the notions of scholars have changed, there may be those among you who think that in some way or manner, after the school day is over, there will be an opportunity to regain any ground now lost, and to complete an education without a present devotion to school requirements. I am sure this is a mistake. A moment's reflection

ought to convince all of you that when you have once entered upon the stern, uncompromising, and unrelenting duties of mature life, there will be no time for study. You will have a contest then forced upon you which will strain every nerve and engross every faculty. A good education, if you have it, will aid you, but if you are without it, you cannot stop to acquire it. When you leave the school you are well equipped for the van in the army of life, or you are doomed to be a laggard, aimlessly and listlessly following in the rear.

“Perhaps a reference to truths so trite is useless here. I hope it is. But I have not been able to forego the chance to assure those who are hard at work that they will surely see their compensation, and those, if any such there are, who find school duties irksome, and neglect or slightingly, perform them, that they are trifling with serious things and treading on dangerous ground.”

Before the meeting of the Legislature in 1885 the verdict of the people of the United States, of “Well done,” had been pronounced, and Mr. Cleveland resigned the Governorship into the hands of David Bennett Hill, the faithful coadjutor who had entered office with him as Lieutenant-Governor in January, 1883. With the exception of Mr. Tilden, it is doubtful whether such an industrious Governor had ever been seen in Albany. Mr. Cleveland went to his room in the

Capitol at nine o'clock in the morning, and he seldom left it, except to take his meals, before midnight. He examined every bill with a close and critical attention, and never decided upon one with whose provisions he was not perfectly familiar. The same care was taken with all other official acts. The result was not only an excellent performance of the public service, but the Governor himself received a severe discipline and a wide education from his labors.

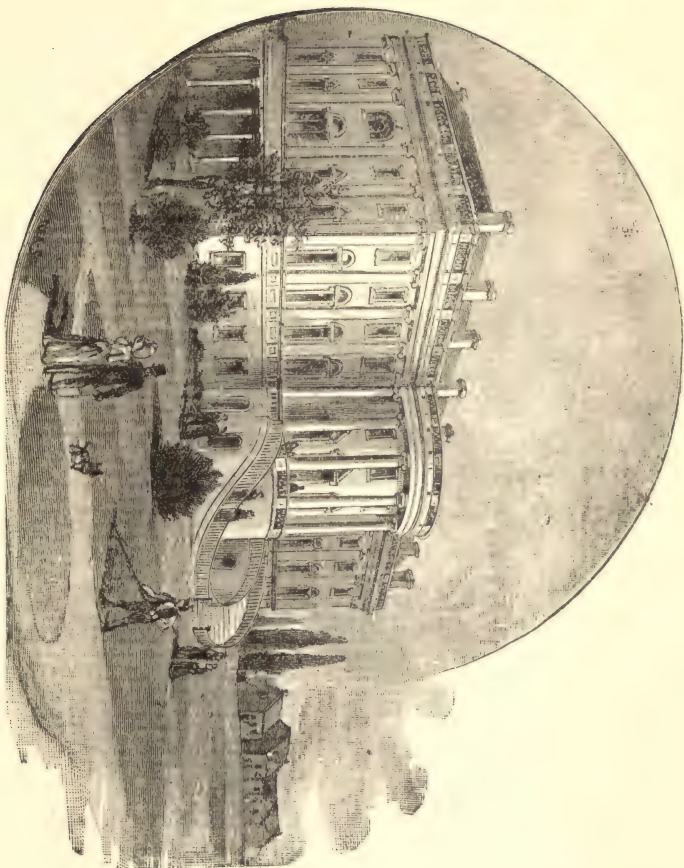
After his resignation he retired to a quiet private residence in Albany, where he devoted himself to the new duties to which the favor of his countrymen had called him. He received delegations from States and delegations from sections. He gave patient audience to the friends of men who sought, or for whom was asked, admission into his Cabinet as Presidential advisers. He heard men who wanted office for themselves or their friends. He was then, in the hour of triumph, the same unobtrusive man, the most modest member of his party, over the great and decisive victory achieved with him as its leader.

A few days before the 4th of March, 1885, he went to Washington as the guest of the late President Arthur. He was received with many demonstrations of respect, joy, and confidence on his way to begin the new career which fate and his own merits had marked out for him.

The conduct of the outgoing President toward

his successor was marked by the urbanity and courtesy which had characterized Mr. Arthur's demeanor throughout the trying times of his entire Administration. He had come to the first office of the country under the most painful and embarrassing circumstances. Distrusted by the opposition and by a very strong faction in his own party, he bore himself as a gentleman and a patriot. His unselfish purposes and his intelligent policy alike were unappreciated by the Blaine wing of the party; and they had compassed the defeat of his nomination, only to be themselves unhorsed in the campaign.

SOUTH FRONT OF THE WHITE HOUSE.



CHAPTER VII.

THE CANVASS AND CONVENTION OF 1884.

THE disputed result of the Presidential election of 1876, the death of President Garfield, and the unexpected accession of President Arthur gave to the political campaign of 1884 an interest and importance which had not entered into any preceding political contest since that of 1860. The clean, dignified, and manly administration of President Arthur, and especially its tendencies toward tariff reform, had not given satisfaction to the majority of his party; and it early became evident to intelligent and impartial observers that he could not secure a nomination to succeed himself. The dominance of Mr. Blaine in the counsels of his party had long been acknowledged; in the early part of the canvass it was clear that he had become the commanding force. He and his followers had had a brief taste of authority while he was occupying the office of Secretary of State during the luckless and wavering rule of Garfield, and his last desperate effort to seize the standard of his party was rewarded with his nomination for President, Senator John A. Logan being named for second place.

On the other hand, the drift in the Democratic party toward Mr. Cleveland was scarcely less apparent. The reform and progressive elements of the party represented by Mr. Tilden so long as he chose to remain their leader, had begun to look toward the Governor of New York as his natural successor. It was generally conceded that the party, having been so long out of power, must make a nomination which would not only prove attractive to the voters directly attached to its principles, purposes, and leaders, but one which would appeal to the large and increasing number of independent, unattached, or semi-detached voters, always found most numerous in the great and controlling State of New York, and who had now clearly become a strong force in the politics of the United States. Mr. Cleveland's course as Governor had been such that a considerable element of his party in the State of New York was bitterly opposed to his promotion to the Presidency of the United States. In spite of this feeling, the State Convention held at Saratoga in June, 1884, to select delegates to the Democratic National Convention called to meet at Chicago on the eighth of July following selected seventy-two delegates, who were not placed under instructions as to candidates, but were directed to vote on all questions as a unit. Each element of the party then hoped to gain control of the delegation.

Meanwhile the canvass was going on in other States of the Union, in many of which a strong sentiment had developed in favor of the nomination of the New York candidate; so that when the Convention met in Chicago party sentiment had pretty effectually crystallized itself around the name of Mr. Cleveland as the most available candidate for the Presidency.

The National Democratic Convention of 1884 met in the Exposition Hall, Chicago, at noon on Tuesday, July 8th. It was called to order by ex-Senator William H. Barnum, of Connecticut, Chairman of the National Committee, who, after prayer had been offered by the Rev. D. C. Marquis, of Chicago, congratulated the assembled delegates upon the sentiment of harmony which pervaded the body they were about to form and proceeded at once to business by naming as Temporary Chairman ex-Governor Richard B. Hubbard, of Texas, who spoke at some length on the issues of the day. Frederick O. Prince, of Massachusetts, was made Temporary Secretary, Richard J. Bright, of Indiana, Sergeant-at-arms, with a full list of assistants to each selected with care from every section of the Union.

Immediately after the temporary organization had been effected, an attack was made by the minority of the delegation from the State of New York, known as the "Tammany wing," upon the unit rule which had so long governed the action

of National Democratic Conventions when instructions had been made by the States from which delegations were accredited. A long discussion ensued in which the opposing elements from the Empire State were the principal disputants, after which, by a vote of 463 to 332, the Convention decided in favor of the retention of the unit rule. This solidified New York for Cleveland and vastly strengthened his cause in other States. Committees were appointed on Permanent Organization, Credentials, and Resolutions, composed of one delegate from each State.

On the second day a permanent organization was effected, with William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, as President; the Temporary Secretary, Sergeant-at-arms, and assistants were declared Permanent, and Vice-Presidents and Secretaries from each State were added. The presiding officer in a long and able speech, that did much to win for him recognition a few months later in his appointment as Postmaster-General in the Cabinet of the President of the United States, laid down the principles upon which he thought the canvass should be conducted and predicted the victory which followed. The Committee on Resolutions not being ready to report, an animated discussion arose over the question of naming the candidate for President, and the Convention decided that this should be done. The roll of States was called and the names of Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio; Thomas F.

Bayard, of Delaware; Joseph E. McDonald, of Indiana; John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky; Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, and Grover Cleveland, of New York, were formally presented as candidates for nomination to the office of President of the United States. Nearly all the second day, together with the day session of the third, was consumed in speeches. The Committee on Resolutions reported at the evening session of the third day, July 10th, and immediately after the adoption of its report the first ballot for President was taken, with the following result: Cleveland, 392; Bayard, 170; Thurman, 88; Randall, 78; McDonald, 56; Carlisle, 27; Flower, 4; Hoadley, 3; Hendricks, 1; Tilden, 1. Necessary to a choice under the two-thirds rule, 547.

By a close vote adjournment was had until eleven o'clock on Friday morning, when a remarkable scene occurred in the effort to stampede the Convention to Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. A great tumult was aroused in the galleries for half an hour, at the end of which time Mr. Voorhees, of Indiana, withdrew the name of Joseph E. McDonald, with announced purpose on the part of the delegation from that State to cast its vote for Mr. Hendricks. As the ballot proceeded it became apparent that Cleveland was the choice of the Convention, and with changes in the vote of many States, the result of the second ballot was declared as follows: Cleveland, 683; Bayard,

81½; Hendricks, 45½; Thurman, 4; Randall, 4; McDonald, 4. Upon the announcement of this result Mr. Menzies, of Indiana, made a motion, which was seconded by delegates from a number of States, that the nomination be made unanimous. This was passed without dissent, and Grover Cleveland was declared the candidate of the National Democratic Convention for the Presidency of the United States.

Adjournment was then had until evening, when nominations for Vice-President were declared to be in order. Upon the call of States California presented William S. Rosecrans; Colorado, Joseph E. McDonald; Georgia, John C. Black, seconded by Illinois, and Kansas, George W. Glick. When Pennsylvania was reached ex-Senator William A. Wallace presented the name of Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, and asked that he be nominated by acclamation. After some discussion the names of all other candidates were withdrawn and the vote of every delegate in the Convention was cast for Mr. Hendricks, who was thus made the candidate of the Democratic party for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. The ticket was completed and the nominations ratified with such an outburst of enthusiasm and demonstrations of applause as had never before been seen and heard on the continent. After the adoption of the customary resolutions of thanks the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CLEVELAND-BLAINE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

THE campaign which followed the nominations was one of the the most exciting and bitter known to the history of this country. It was rendered particularly so by the opposition to Blaine of a large number of independent voters in every State of the Union. These men had been Republicans almost to a man. Many of them were the leaders of their party and had been prominent in its counsels from its organization. Others were young men thus early driven out of their party because of a recognition of its bad tendencies and the dangerous character of its candidate for President, Mr. Blaine. Madened by these desertions and rendered desperate by the prospective loss of power long held by the aid of discreditable methods, the National Committee of the Republican party, aided by the close friends of its candidate, invented and gave currency to outrageous charges against the private character of the Democratic candidate. He met these with a pitiless exposure of their falsity, and with conscious integrity demanded from his friends that they should "Tell the truth." This

declaration became a Democratic watchword during the ensuing canvass. Of Cleveland's manly conduct with relation to this phase of the campaign, and in striking contrast with the attitude of his opponent on questions deeply affecting his personal integrity, the editor of *Harper's Weekly*, August 16th, 1884, said:

"There was no whining about his private business; no seizing of letters, and, after a menacing pressure of public opinion, a theatrical reading of such parts as he chose and with his own comments; there was no desperate equivocation and attempted concealment. 'Tell the truth' was the only reply—a reply which showed a man honorably unwilling to receive any public trust under false pretenses."

SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE.

In due time Governor Cleveland was notified officially of his nomination by the Committee appointed for that purpose. In reply he made the following brief and pointed address:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:

"Your formal announcement does not, of course, convey to me the first information of the result of the Convention lately held by the Democracy of the Nation, and yet, when, as I listen to your message, I see about me representatives from all parts of the land of the great party which,



HON. JOHN M. PALMER,

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

claiming to be the party of the people, asks them to intrust to it the administration of their government, and when I consider under the influence of the stern reality which the present surroundings create, that I have been chosen to represent the plans, purposes, and the policy of the Democratic party, I am profoundly impressed by the solemnity of the occasion and by the responsibility of my position. Though I gratefully appreciate it, I do not at this moment congratulate myself upon the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me, because my mind is full of an anxious desire to perform well the part which has been assigned to me.

“Nor do I at this moment forget that the rights and interests of more than fifty millions of my fellow-citizens are involved in our efforts to gain Democratic supremacy. This reflection presents to my mind the consideration which more than all others gives to the action of my party in convention assembled its most sober and serious aspect. The party and its representatives which ask to be intrusted at the hands of the people with the keeping of all that concerns their welfare and their safety, should only ask it with the full appreciation of the sacredness of the trust, and with a firm resolve to administer it faithfully and well. I am a Democrat because I believe that this truth lies at the foundation of true Democracy. I have kept the faith, because I believe if rightly and fairly

administered and applied, Democratic doctrines and measures will insure the happiness, contentment, and prosperity of the people.

“If, in the contest upon which we now enter, we steadfastly hold to the underlying principles of our party creed, and at all times keep in view the people’s good, we shall be strong, because we are true to ourselves, and because the plain and independent voters of the land will seek by their suffrages to compass their release from party tyranny where there should be submission to the popular will, and their protection from party corruption where there should be devotion to the people’s interests. These thoughts lend a consecration to our cause, and we go forth, not merely to gain a partisan advantage, but pledged to give to those who trust us the utmost benefits of a pure and honest administration of National affairs. No higher purpose or motive can stimulate us to supreme effort, or urge us to continuous and earnest labor and effective party organization. Let us not fail in this, and we may confidently hope to reap the full reward of patriotic services well performed. I have thus called to mind some simple truths, and, trite though they are, it seems to me we do well to dwell upon them at this time. I shall soon, I hope, signify, in the usual formal manner, my acceptance of the nomination which has been tendered to me. In the meantime I gladly greet you all as co-workers in the noble cause.”

FORMAL LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

Subsequently, Mr. Cleveland wrote and forwarded to the Committee of Notification the following letter, which sets forth more in detail his ideas of the issues of the campaign :

“ALBANY, N. Y., August 18th, 1884.

“GENTLEMEN: I have received your communication dated July 28th, 1884, informing me of my nomination to the office of President of the United States by the National Democratic Convention lately assembled at Chicago.

“I accept the nomination with a grateful appreciation of the supreme honor conferred, and a solemn sense of the responsibility which, in its acceptance, I assume.

“I have carefully considered the platform adopted by the Convention and cordially approve the same. So plain a statement of Democratic faith and the principles upon which that party appeals to the suffrages of the people needs no supplement or explanation.

“It should be remembered that the office of President is essentially executive in its nature. The laws enacted by the legislative branch of the Government the Chief Executive is bound faithfully to enforce. And when the wisdom of the political party which selects one of its members as a nominee for that office has outlined its policy

and declared its principles, it seems to me that nothing in the character of the office or the necessities of the case requires more from the candidate accepting such nomination than the suggestion of certain well-known truths so absolutely vital to the safety and welfare of the nation, that they cannot be too often recalled or too seriously enforced.

“We proudly call ours a government by the people. It is not such when a class is tolerated which arrogates to itself the management of public affairs, seeking to control the people instead of representing them.

“Parties are the necessary outgrowth of our institutions; but a government is not by the people when one party fastens its control upon the country and perpetuates its power by cajoling and betraying the people instead of serving them.

“A government is not by the people, when a result which should represent the intelligent will of free and thinking men is, or can be, determined by the shameless corruption of their suffrages.

“When an election to office shall be the selection by the voters of one of their number to assume for a time a public trust instead of his dedication to the profession of politics; when the holders of the ballot, quickened by a sense of duty, shall avenge truth betrayed and pledges broken, and when the suffrage shall be altogether free and uncorrupted, the full realization of a government

by the people will be at hand. And of the means to this end, not one would, in my judgment, be more effective than an amendment to the Constitution disqualifying the President from re-election. When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefits received, and fostered by the hopes of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people.

“A true American sentiment recognizes the dignity of labor and the fact that honor lies in honest toil. Contented labor is an element of national prosperity. Ability to work constitutes the capital and the wage of labor the income of a vast number of our population ; and this interest should be jealously protected. Our workingmen are not asking unreasonable indulgence ; but as intelligent and manly citizens, they seek the same consideration which those demand who have other interests at stake. They should receive their full share of the care and attention of those who make and execute the laws, to the end that the wants and needs of the employers and the employed

shall alike be subserved, and the prosperity of the country, the common heritage of both, be advanced. As related to this subject, while we should not discourage the immigration of those who come to acknowledge allegiance to our government and add to our citizen population, yet as a means of protection to our workingmen, a different rule should prevail concerning those who, if they come, or are brought, to our land, do not intend to become Americans, but will injuriously compete with those justly entitled to our field of labor.

"In a letter accepting the nomination to the office of Governor, nearly two years ago, I made the following statement, to which I have steadily adhered:

" 'The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital ; and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the working-man.'

"A proper regard for the welfare of the workingman being inseparably connected with the integrity of our institutions, none of our citizens are more interested than they in guarding against any corrupting influences which seek to pervert the beneficent purposes of our Government ; and

none should be more watchful of the artful machinations of those who allure them to self-inflicted injury.

“In a free country, the curtailment of the absolute rights of the individual should only be such as is essential to the peace and good order of the community. The limit between the proper subjects of governmental control, and those which can be more fittingly left to the moral sense and self-imposed restraint of the citizen, should be carefully kept in view. Thus laws unnecessarily interfering with the habits and customs of any of our people which are not offensive to the moral sentiments of the civilized world, and which are consistent with good citizenship and the public welfare, are unwise and vexatious.

“The commerce of a nation to a great extent determines its supremacy. Cheap and easy transportation should therefore be liberally fostered. Within the limits of the Constitution, the General Government should so improve and protect its natural water-ways as will enable the producers of the country to reach a profitable market.

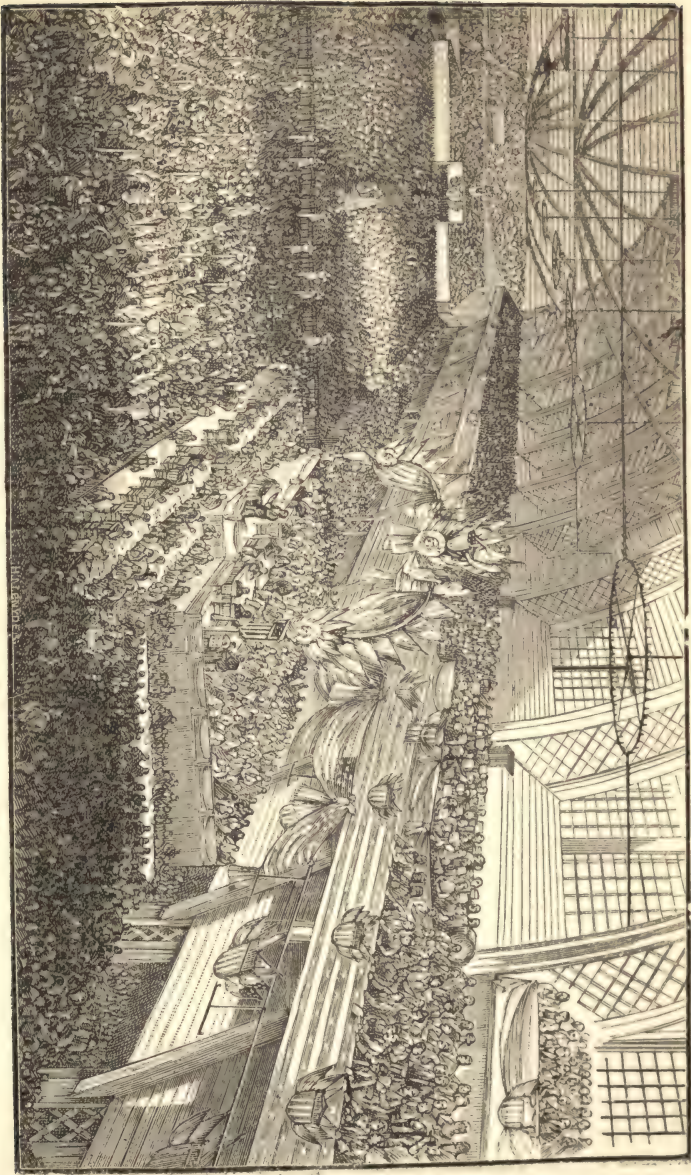
“The people pay the wages of the public employes, and they are entitled to the fair and honest work which the money thus paid should command. It is the duty of those intrusted with the management of their affairs to see that such public service is forthcoming. The selection and retention of subordinates in Government employ-

ment should depend upon their ascertained fitness and the value of their work, and they should be neither expected nor allowed to do questionable party service. The interests of the people will be better protected; the estimate of public labor and duty will be immensely improved; public employment will be open to all who can demonstrate their fitness to enter it; the unseemly scramble for place under the Government, with the consequent importunity which embitters official life, will cease; and the public departments will not be filled with those who conceive it to be their first duty to aid the party to which they owe their places, instead of rendering patient and honest return to the people.

“I believe that the public temper is such that the voters of the land are prepared to support the party which gives the best promise of administering the Government in the honest, simple, and plain manner which is consistent with its character and purposes. They have learned that mystery and concealment in the management of their affairs cover tricks and betrayal. The statesmanship they require consists in honesty and frugality, a prompt response to the needs of the people as they arise, and the vigilant protection of all their varied interests.

“If I should be called to the Chief Magistracy of the Nation by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, I will assume the duties of that high office

DEMOCRATIC NOMINATING CONVENTION OF 1884.





with a solemn determination to dedicate every effort to the country's good, and with an humble reliance upon the favor and support of the Supreme Being, who I believe will always bless honest human endeavor in the conscientious discharge of public duty.

“GROVER CLEVELAND.

“To Colonel WILLIAM F. VILAS, Chairman, and D. P. BESTOR, and others, members of the Notification Committee of the Democratic National Convention.”

INDEPENDENT SUPPORT OF CLEVELAND.

The serious and earnest tone which pervaded both of these deliverances commended their author to the hearty support of a great body of electors whose votes had been seldom of late years cast for Democratic nominees.

Among the prominent Republicans who made speeches or otherwise took an active part in favor of the election of Mr. Cleveland were George William Curtis, editor of *Harper's Weekly*; Carl Schurz, ex-Secretary of the Interior; Rev. Henry Ward Beecher; Colonel Charles R. Codman, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Henry L. Pierce, the late Rev. James Freeman Clarke, all of Boston; ex-Senator Wadleigh, of New Hampshire; ex-Governors Daniel H. Chamberlain, of South Carolina, Blair, of Michigan, and Pound, of Wisconsin; Henry C. Lea, of Philadelphia, be-

sides hundreds of able though less widely known men in every part of the United States who were active in the promotion of the principles and the success of the Republican party so long as they thought its candidates creditable and honest men. While the independent candidacy of General Butler and his support by the *New York Sun*—which journal, late a supporter of the Democratic party, had become the most virulent foe of its candidate—distracted what was known as the “Labor vote” in some quarters, the candidacy of Governor St. John on the Prohibition ticket in equal degree weakened the Republican party, and diverted from it a considerable part of its strength in close States where it was not easily spared.

Influential independent and Republican journals, like the Boston *Herald* and *Transcript*, the New York *Herald*, *Times*, *Evening Post*, and *Harper's Weekly*, the Philadelphia *Times*, Indianapolis *News*, and the powerful and effective cartoons and caricatures of *Puck*, gave to the Cleveland campaign a journalistic support which his party had not enjoyed for a generation; and they were a tremendous factor in achieving the successful result.

Throughout the campaign Governor Cleveland bore himself with great dignity, composure, and self-reliance. He exercised with his usual diligence and efficiency the functions of the Gubernatorial office in Albany; he seldom went beyond the borders of his own State, and never neglected

the duties of its Chief Magistracy to promote his election or to serve the purposes of the party managers. His few speeches were characterized by the same seriousness and sincerity which pervaded all the utterances of his official career, and one of the effects of the popular confidence thus gained was seen in the steady increase of his support in business and financial circles; the Commercial Exchanges of New York and other centres of trade manifested a great preponderance of sentiment in his favor.

In contrast with his campaign and his personal conduct was the wild pageantry with which Blaine was conducted over the country, culminating in a series of ovations, dinners, and receptions in New York city. One of these, a select assemblage of millionaires to do honor to the Republican candidate, created a strong feeling that his election was chiefly desired by the plutocrats and monopolists; at another a misfit preacher named Burchard dropped an ill-timed remark, aspersing the Democracy as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," and to these two incidents many of Mr. Blaine's admirers lay the accountability for the slender adverse plurality which lost to him New York and the Presidency.

AMONG OLD FRIENDS.

In the course of this campaign, and when the fiercest attacks upon his private character were being made, Mr. Cleveland made a visit to his old

home and to the friends of his youth and manhood in Buffalo. On October 2d, 1884, after the longest interval of absence during his thirty years residence there, he was received with such an ovation of enthusiasm as testified that his hold upon the affections and esteem of his fellow-townsmen had not weakened. For the people of that great city, Henry Martin, President of the Manufacturers' and Tradesmen's Bank, welcomed him, and, in a speech of reply, Governor Cleveland, referring to the significance of the greeting, said with great pathos:

"It tells me that my neighbors are still my friends. It assures me that I have not been altogether unsuccessful in my efforts to deserve their confidence and attachment. In years to come, I shall deem myself not far wrong if I still retain their good opinion; and if surrounding cares and perplexities bring but anxiety and vexation, I shall find solace and comfort in the memory of the days spent here, and in recalling the kindness of my Buffalo friends."

To the great business men's meeting in New York, to which Mr. Tilden sent a letter of characteristic strength, Mr. Cleveland spoke with entire acceptability, and in his Newark, N. J., speech, near the close of the campaign, he thus foreshadowed what has come to be the supreme issue of political discussion in the closing years of his first term:

"It is quite plain, too, that the people have a

right to demand that no more money should be taken from them directly or indirectly for public uses than is necessary for an honest and economical administration of public affairs. Indeed, the right of the Government to exact tribute from the citizens is limited to its actual necessities, and every cent taken from the people beyond that required for their protection by the Government is no better than robbery. We surely must condemn, then, a system which takes from the pockets of the people millions of dollars not needed for the support of the Government, and which tends to the inauguration of corrupt schemes and extravagant expenditures.

“The Democratic party has declared that all taxation shall be limited by the requirements of an economical Government. This is plain and direct; and it distinctly recognizes the value of labor and its right to governmental care when it further declares that the necessary reduction in taxation and limitation thereof to the country’s needs should be effected without destroying American labor, or the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without injuring the interests of our laboring population.”

In the last speech of the 1884 campaign, at Bridgeport, Connecticut, he said:

“The world does not present a more sublime spectacle than a nation of freemen determining their own cause, and the leader whom they follow at such a time may well feel a sober, solemn sense

of responsibility. The plaudits of his fellows he should feel, but only to feel more intensely what a serious thing it is to have in keeping their hopes and their confidence."

Two years before, when there opened to him the wide prospect of election to the Gubernatorial chair of New York, he had, in the privacy of his own family circle, written the following letter, which accidentally came to light in the campaign of 1884, only to disclose his modest and yet self-reliant character, his consecration to public duty, and utter disregard of any other consideration than the conscientious exercise of solemn trust:

MAYOR'S OFFICE, BUFFALO, N. Y.,

November 7th, 1883.

MY DEAR BROTHER:—I have just voted. I sit here in the Mayor's office alone, with the exception of an artist from Frank Leslie's newspaper, who is sketching the office. If mother were here I should be writing to her, and I feel as if it were time for me to write to some one who will believe what I write. I have been for some time in the atmosphere of certain success, so that I have been sure that I should assume the duties of the high office for which I have been named. I have tried hard in the light of this fact to properly appreciate the responsibilities that will rest upon me, and they are much—too much—underesti-



ROSWELL P. FLOWER,
Governor of New York.

mated. But the thought that has troubled me is: Can I well perform my duties, and in such a manner as to do some good to the people of the State? I know there is room for it, and I know that I am honest and sincere in my desire to do well, but the question is whether I know enough to accomplish what I desire.

The social life which seems to await me has also been a subject of much anxious thought. I have a notion that I can regulate that very much as I desire, and if I can I shall spend very little in the purely ornamental part of the office. In point of fact, I will tell you, first of all others, the policy I intend to adopt, and that is to make the matter a business engagement between the people of the State and myself, in which the obligation on my side is to perform the duties assigned me with an eye single to the interest of my employers. I shall have no idea of re-election or of any higher political preferment in my head, but be very thankful and happy if I can well serve one term as the people's Governor. Do you know that if mother were alive I should feel so much safer? I have always thought her prayers had much to do with my success. I shall expect you to help me in that way.

Give my love to — and to —, if she is with you, and believe me,

Your affectionate brother,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

The State election in Ohio took place in October and was carried by the Republican candidates for State offices. Mr. Blaine made an electioneering tour through that State during the latter part of September, and the most active efforts were put forth to secure a favorable result. The Democrats carried Georgia and West Virginia, so that the State elections which had long been supposed to influence the general result at the Presidential election, were deemed an offset to each other, Indiana having ceased to be an October State.

The election was held on November 4th, 1884, resulting in the choice of electors as follows :

FOR CLEVELAND.		FOR BLAINE.	
Alabama,	10	California,	8
Arkansas,	7	Colorado,	3
Connecticut,	6	Illinois,	22
Delaware,	3	Iowa,	13
Florida,	4	Kansas,	9
Georgia,	12	Maine,	6
Indiana,	15	Massachusetts,	14
Kentucky,	13	Michigan,	13
Louisiana,	8	Minnesota,	7
Maryland,	8	Nebraska,	5
Mississippi,	9	Nevada,	3
Missouri,	16	New Hampshire,	4
New Jersey,	9	Ohio,	23
New York,	36	Oregon,	3
North Carolina,	11	Pennsylvania,	30
South Carolina,	9	Rhode Island,	4
Tennessee,	12	Vermont,	4
Texas,	13	Wisconsin,	11
Virginia,	12		
West Virginia,	6		
Total,	219	Total,	182

The popular vote aggregated as follows:

Cleveland,	4,874,986	Butler,	173,370
Blaine,	4,851,981	St. John,	150,369

For some days after the election an attempt was made to represent the result as doubtful because the plurality in the State of New York was small. But the effort was so decidedly the last expiring hope of a defeated party that it produced no other feeling stronger than disgust and a determination that no such fraudulent result as that of 1876 should be declared. In four days after the election the result was universally accepted.

The managers of the defeated party, in their intense disappointment, vented their rage partly upon the Prohibitionists, and to some degree upon the luckless speech of Rev. Dr. Burchard; their deepest resentment, however, was exhibited against the so-called "Mugwumps," for whom no terms of reproach were deemed too violent. The Independent Republicans, who had vainly protested against Blaine's nomination and had contributed to his defeat at the polls, received the abuse now heaped upon them with great complacency and hopefully looked to the new Administration for their vindication.

The Democrats over the whole country celebrated their victory with jubilees, barbecues, parades, and varied methods of popular rejoicing. The celebration of 1876 had been premature; but now the triumphant party gave vent to dem-

onstrations of unqualified and unrestrained joy. Amid all this, in many quarters, were heard the warning voices of discreet leaders, pointing out that the victory should be interpreted as a triumph of the better elements of all parties, and a narrow escape of the Government from threatened perils rather than a mere partisan achievement. Speculation was rife as to how a comparatively untried man would meet and deal with the great responsibilities of an office coming to him under the peculiar circumstances of the campaign of 1884.

CHAPTER IX.

PREPARING FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

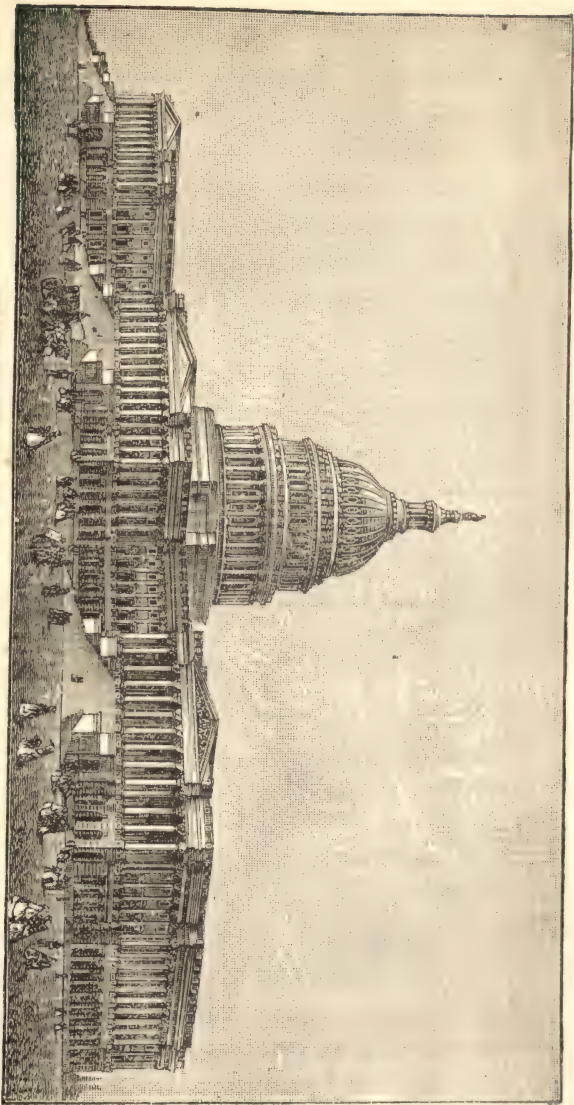
CIVIL SERVICE REFORM—THE SILVER QUESTION.

THE interval between the retirement of Governor Cleveland from the Executive chair of New York, which David B. Hill, the Lieutenant-Governor, was now called upon to fill, and the inauguration of a Democratic Administration at the Federal capital, was busily occupied with consultations and plans for the reorganization in Federal power of a party virtually excluded from it for nearly a quarter of a century. Chief in all such councils and first among all counselors of the President-elect, then and ever since, was and has been Colonel Daniel S. Lamont, who was soon to be translated from the position of Private Secretary to the Governor of New York to that of Private Secretary to the President of the United States. A young man, trained in the best school of New York politics, experienced in journalism, quick to perceive the value and character of men, discreet in speech, and efficient in commanding the largest share of information from any visitor, whether he has an axe to grind or comes merely as an interested

observer of the action and character of others—he has shown himself the most intelligent, as he has become the best known of all the men who in the arduous and difficult post of Private Secretary have contributed to increase the interest and the pleasure or to lighten the labor of men in the public life of the United States.

To most men the lack of all experience in public life in a Federal office would have been a serious drawback on the threshold of an Administration which was to bring back to the country the policy of a party long excluded. But it was rather an advantage to Grover Cleveland. He had none of those prejudices, those likes and dislikes, which incessantly surround the men who have had many years experience in the somewhat artificial and insincere life of Washington. He did not know personally any large number of those with whom he was destined to deal. But he had patience, the faculty of investigating everything with care, and of deciding it on its merits, and he had an insight into men and their characters which is rare.

There were more things to do in the interval between the election in November, 1884, and the inauguration of March 4th, 1885, than the mere choosing of men to carry out the policy of the new President and the party behind him. Delegations with ideas of various kinds, which they were anxious to force upon the attention of the powers that were to be, had to be received and answered.



EAST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.



Eccentric men and women must be received and treated with a politeness which such persons at times do much to strain. The admonition of many well-meaning persons without ideas or mission, but with a capacity for curiosity, had to be accepted in a spirit as meek as was consonant with the failings of humanity. Most important, and most difficult of all, the man who was to take upon himself such a burden was compelled continually to enunciate anew the principles upon which he would seek to shape his policy. His election had been promoted by the support of a large and growing class of men in politics formerly denominated by the somewhat indefinite name of "independent voters," but known during the campaign and since by the title of "Mugwumps"—a distinctive addition to the nomenclature of politics.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM LETTER.

Before his retirement from the Governorship, under date of December 25th, 1884, Mr. Cleveland wrote a letter to Mr. George William Curtis, President of the National Civil Service Reform Association, in which he laid down with great distinctness the general policy which he wished to pursue in the matter of removals from office and appointments. In this letter the President-elect said :

"That a practical reform in the civil service is abundantly established by the fact that a statute

referred to in your communication to secure such a result has been passed in Congress with the assent of both political parties, and by the further fact that a sentiment is generally prevalent among patriotic people calling for the fair and honest enforcement of the law which has thus been enacted. I regard myself pledged to this, because my conception of true Democratic faith and public duty requires that this and all other statutes should be in good faith and without evasion enforced, and because in many utterances made prior to my election as President, approved by the party to which I belong, and which I have no disposition to disclaim, I have in effect promised the people that this should be done.

"I am not unmindful of the fact, to which you refer, that many of our citizens fear that the recent party changes in the national Executive may demonstrate that the abuses which have grown up in the civil service are ineradicable. I know that they are deeply rooted, and that the spoils system has been supposed to be intimately related to success in the maintenance of party organization, and I am not sure that all those who profess to be the friends of this reform will stand firmly among its advocates when they find it obstructing their way to patronage and place.

"But fully appreciating the trust committed to my charge, no such consideration shall cause a relaxation on my part of an earnest effort to enforce the law.

"There is a class of Government positions which are not within the letter of the civil-service statute, but which are so disconnected with the policy of an Administration that the removal therefrom

of present incumbents, in my opinion, should not be made during the term for which they were appointed solely on partisan grounds, and for the purpose of putting in their places those who are in political accord with the appointing power.

"But many now holding such positions have forfeited all just claim to retention because they have used their places for party purposes, in disregard of their duty to the people, and because, instead of being decent public servants, they have proved themselves offensive partisans and unscrupulous manipulators of local party management.

"The lessons of the past should be unlearned, and such officials, as well as their successors, should be taught that efficiency and fitness and devotion to public duty are the conditions of their continuance in public place, and that the quiet and unobtrusive exercise of individual political rights is the reasonable measure of their party service.

"If I were addressing none but party friends, I should deem it entirely proper to remind them that, though the coming Administration is to be Democratic, a due regard for the people's interest does not permit faithful party work to be always rewarded by appointment to office, and to say to them that, while Democrats may expect all proper consideration, selections for office not embraced within the civil-service rules will be based upon sufficient inquiry as to fitness instituted by those charged with that duty, rather than persistent importunity or self-solicited recommendations on behalf of candidates for appointment."

THE SILVER LETTER OF 1885.

Another element of strength to Mr. Cleveland in the exciting campaign which had just closed was the general impression of his substantial soundness on all financial questions, measured by the standards of Jefferson, Jackson, and Tilden, and by the general acceptance by the people of the country after many years of agitation of the danger of inflation of a currency worth less than its face. At the time under discussion there was a general fear on the part of thoughtful students of financial questions that disaster would finally result from the compulsory coinage under the law of 1878 of a minimum of two millions of silver dollars each month. Mr. Cleveland, a short time before his inauguration, in a letter under date of February 28th, 1885, and addressed to Mr. Warner, a representative from the State of Ohio, and others, set forth his views upon this question at considerable length and with much positiveness. Besides other things, he said :

"To the Hon. A. J. Warner and others, Members of the Forty-eighth Congress.

"GENTLEMEN: The letter which I have had the honor to receive from you invites, and indeed obliges, me to give expression to some grave public necessities, although in advance of the moment when they would become the objects of my official care and partial responsibility. Your

solicitude that my judgment shall have been carefully and deliberately formed is entirely just, and I accept the suggestion in the same friendly spirit in which it has been made. It is also fully justified by the nature of the financial crisis which, under the operation of the act of Congress of February 28th, 1878, is now close at hand.

“By a compliance with the requirements of that law all the vaults of the Federal Treasury have been and are heaped full of silver coins, which are now worth less than eighty-five per cent. of the gold dollar prescribed as the unit of value in section 16 of the act of February 12th, 1873, and which, with the silver certificates representing such coin, are receivable for all public dues. Being thus receivable, while also constantly increasing in quantity at the rate of \$28,000,000 a year, it has followed of necessity that the flow of gold into the Treasury has steadily diminished. Silver and silver certificates have displaced and are now displacing the gold in the Federal Treasury now available for the gold obligations of the United States and for redemption of the United States notes called ‘greenbacks,’ if not already encroached upon, is perilously near such encroachment.

“These are facts which, as they do not admit of difference of opinion, call for no argument. They have been forewarned to us in the official reports of every Secretary of the Treasury, from 1878 till now. They are plainly affirmed in the last December report of the present Secretary of the Treasury to the Speaker of the present House of Representatives. They appear in the official documents of this Congress, and in the records of the

New York Clearing-house, of which the Treasury is a member, and through which the bulk of the receipts and payments of the Federal Government and country pass.

“These being the facts of our present condition, our danger, and our duty to avert that danger, would seem to be plain. I hope that you concur with me and with the great majority of our fellow-citizens, in deeming it most desirable at the present juncture to maintain and continue in use the mass of our gold coin, as well as the mass of silver already coined. This is possible by a present suspension of the purchase and coinage of silver. I am not aware that by any other method it is possible. It is of momentous importance to prevent the two metals from parting company; to prevent the increasing displacement of gold by the increasing coinage of silver; to prevent the disuse of gold in the custom-houses of the United States in the daily business of the people; to prevent the ultimate expulsion of gold by silver. Such a financial crisis as these events would certainly precipitate, were it now to follow upon so long a period of commercial depression, would involve the people of every city and every State in the Union in a prolonged and disastrous trouble. The revival of business enterprise and prosperity so ardently desired, and apparently so near, would be hopelessly postponed. Gold would be withdrawn to its hoarding places, and an unprecedented contraction in the actual volume of our currency would speedily take place.

“Saddest of all, in every workshop, mill, factory, store, and on every railroad and farm the wages of labor, already depressed, would suffer still fur-

ther depression by a scaling down of the purchasing power of every so-called dollar paid into the hands of toil. From these impending calamities, it is surely a most patriotic and grateful duty of the representatives of the people to deliver them.

"I am, gentlemen, with sincere respect, your fellow-citizen,

"GROVER CLEVELAND.

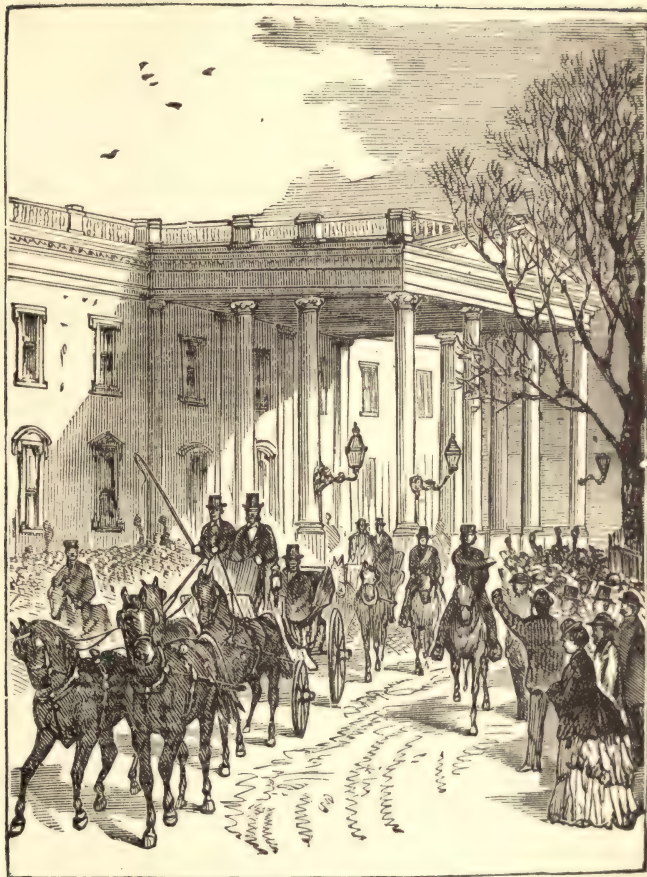
"ALBANY, February 24th, 1885."

CHAPTER X.

THE INAUGURATION.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION—THE CABINET OFFICERS
AND HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS.

AS the day for the inauguration of the President drew near, public interest in the men who would be chosen as his constitutional advisers became more and more aroused. At a comparatively early day Mr. Cleveland adopted a policy, which he has since carried out with much success, of giving out informally and unofficially indications of any important appointment, message, or policy upon which he had determined. In this way it was generally known that Senator Bayard, of Delaware, would be tendered the office of Secretary of State, nominally considered the leading place in the Cabinet because first created and surrounded by traditions which gave it this rank by Thomas Jefferson, the first incumbent of the office under President Washington. From time to time hints were let fall as to other members of the Cabinet, although no official announcement was made until the day following the inauguration, when their names were sent to the Senate.



STARTING FOR THE INAUGURATION.

The day fixed by law for the inauguration of the new President, March 4th, 1885, was the most perfect, from an atmospheric point of view, that Washington had seen for months. The President-elect, accompanied by the Vice-President-elect, Mr. Hendricks, and members of the Senate Committee appointed to escort them to the Capitol, went at about half-past ten o'clock to the White House, where President Arthur and the Marshal of the district were in waiting. A start was made at once, the carriages falling into line in the place arranged for them by the Chief Marshal, General Henry W. Slocum, of New York. The Regular Army, the Marines, the Navy, the Artillery, the Marine Band and detachments from the militia of several States contributed to swell the procession to something like twenty-five thousand men. As usual, the ceremonies of inauguration were performed at the east front of the Capitol, and in this case before an audience estimated to number one hundred and fifty thousand. Mr. Cleveland was dressed in the regulation Prince Albert suit. In speaking he held his left hand closed behind his back, using his right hand for making the customary gestures of the public speaker. He spoke without manuscript, as is his wont, and in a clear, resonant voice. His self-confidence and composure were as marvelous to the hundreds of more experienced public men who surrounded him as they were novel and yet reassuring to the people

of the country. The most important utterances of his inaugural address were as follows :

EXTRACTS FROM THE INAUGURAL

“Amid the din of party strife the people’s choice was made, but its attendant circumstances demonstrated anew the strength and safety of a government by the people.

“In each succeeding year it more clearly appears that our Democratic principle needs no apology, and that in its fearless and faithful application is to be found the surest guaranty of good government. But the best results in the operation of a government wherein every citizen has a share largely depend upon a proper limitation of purely partisan zeal and effort, and a correct appreciation of the time when the heat of the partisan should be merged in the patriotism of the citizen.

“To-day the Executive branch of the government is transferred to new keeping, but this is still the government of all the people, and it should be none the less an object of affectionate solicitude. At this hour the animosities of political strife, the bitterness of partisan defeat, and the exultation of partisan triumph should be supplanted by an ungrudging acquiescence in the popular will, and a sober, conscientious concern for the general weal.

“Moreover, if from this hour we cheerfully and honestly abandon all sectional prejudice and distrust, and determine with manly confidence in one another to work out harmoniously the achievements of our national destiny, we shall deserve to

realize all the benefits which our happy form of government can bestow ; on this conspicuous occasion we may well renew the pledge of devotion to the Constitution, which, launched by the founders of the Republic and consecrated by their prayers and patriotic devotion, has for almost a century borne the hopes and the aspirations of a great people through prosperity and peace, and through the foreign conflicts and the perils of domestic strife and vicissitudes.

“ By the Father of his Country our Constitution was commended for adoption, as ‘ the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession.’ In that same spirit it should be administered, in order to promote the lasting welfare of the country, and to secure the full measure of its priceless benefits to us and to those who will succeed to the blessings of our national life. The large variety of diverse and competing interests subject to Federal control, persistently seeking the recognition of their claims, need give us no fear that the greatest good to the greatest number will fail to be accomplished, if in the halls of the National Legislature that spirit of amity and mutual concession shall prevail in which the Constitution had its birth.

“ If this involves the surrender or postponement of private interests, the sacrifice of local van-
tages, compensation will be found in assurance that thus the minor interest is subserved and the general welfare advanced.”

ADVISERS OF THE EXECUTIVE.

It was not until the next day after the inauguration ceremonies that the curiosity of the country

concerning the Cabinet was officially gratified. Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State, had seen long service in the Senate from the State of Delaware, and had attained such prominence that he had been voted for in three National Conventions as a candidate for President. His nature was conservative; his mind was trained to politics from early manhood by a close study of our system of government. He had taken high rank as a lawyer, both in the practice of his profession and in legal arguments before that august body, the Senate of the United States. His appointment as Secretary of State gave general satisfaction because of the known dignity of his character, his conservatism, and his lack of those fiery and impractical qualities which distinguish demagogues and men of so-called "magnetism." His career in the State Department has justified the hopes of his friends and confounded his enemies.

The man selected for that most important and difficult office, Secretary of the Treasury, was Daniel Manning, of the State of New York. He was a man whose career illustrated the genius of our institutions better, perhaps, than that of any one who ever occupied that office. A member of a worthy family in his native State of New York, he was early apprenticed to learn the trade of printer in the office of the *Argus* at Albany. Here his industry, his unfailing good sense, and his energy gave him the opportunities he needed.



THOMAS F. BAYARD, SECRETARY OF STATE.



As a result he rose rapidly through different grades of the business and editorial departments of the paper until he became its editor and owner. With business prosperity he had also entered into the banking business, and thus turned his attention to the study of financial questions. Always active in politics, he rose with each step of his business and professional advancement in the councils of his party, until, as Chairman of the State Committee, in the first Democratic State of the Union, he became the Warwick who made Governors and Presidents without subjecting himself to the charge of being a "boss"—that great bugbear of the modern prudes of politics. He had early recognized the qualities of Mr. Cleveland, both practical and available, and he was the earnest and successful leader in directing his nomination for President, as well as a potent factor in securing his election. His career as Secretary of the Treasury was, taking its brevity into consideration, the most brilliant in the history of the United States; and when, after less than two years service, he was compelled to resign because of impaired health, he retired with universal respect and admiration of his countrymen, and when he died, early in the present year, he was as sincerely mourned as a loss to our politics as if he had been for many years one of the leading figures in shaping the policies of a great nation.

For Attorney-General the President selected Augustus H. Garland, of Arkansas. One of the ablest lawyers of his State, he had been its Governor in the troublous times of the carpet-baggers, which so tried the souls of honest men, and he had rendered conspicuous service in ridding his State and section of these human pests. His service in the Senate of the United States had demonstrated his attainments as a lawyer, his patriotism and honesty as a man, and his usefulness as a legislator.

To William C. Whitney, of the State of New York, was confided the difficult task of taking the Navy Department and of redeeming it from reproach. He was the youngest man in the Cabinet, but he had done conspicuous work for the cause of good government in the State and city of New York; and as corporation counsel of that great municipality he had shown the energy and executive efficiency which in his present larger sphere have made his department clean and respectable. The success attending his efforts to restore the navy on sound business principles has justified the confidence reposed in him by President Cleveland; and the present political "solidity" of New York vindicates the wisdom of the daring experiment of taking two Cabinet officers from a single State.

For Secretary of War, William C. Endicott, who had seen judicial service in his native State



AUGUSTUS H. GARLAND.

of Massachusetts, was selected. He was the least known of the members of the new Cabinet: but the absence of scandal and the preservation of discipline in his department show his honesty and ability.

The Post-Office Department is in many respects the most important and most difficult portfolio in the Cabinet of the President. Its subordinates greatly outnumber those of all others combined, its efficiency is tested even in the remotest hamlet, and its revenues give it second place in rank. Wm. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, had the training of a lawyer who had always been an apt and ardent student of politics. He gave close attention to every detail of the work in his Department and rendered excellent service in it until his transfer to the head of the Interior Department in December, 1887.

L. Q. C. Lamar, then a Senator of the United States from Mississippi, was chosen as Secretary of the Interior. Under his direction, the many and serious abuses in his Department were corrected. He carried out a wise policy of dealing with the Indians under which peaceful relations have been uniformly maintained since March, 1885; he inaugurated reforms in the affairs of the Patent Office; he selected careful and honest men to manage the Pension Office and the Agricultural Department; he took firm measures to bring the delinquent Pacific Railroads to account, and carried

out in the most conscientious way the policy of reclaiming land grants to railroads after they had lapsed because of a failure to perform the condition of the grants. His course in office fully justified the choice of the President, and his appointment as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States was only regretted because it took him out of an executive office which he had managed faithfully and well.

The first vacancy in the Cabinet was caused by the retirement of Daniel Manning from the office of Secretary of the Treasury. He was succeeded by Charles S. Fairchild, who was promoted from the position of First Assistant Secretary. He had had a careful training in the larger politics of the State of New York, where he had rendered conspicuous service as Attorney-General in prosecution of the canal frauds unearthed by Mr. Tilden while Governor. He has shown himself a worthy successor of Mr. Manning, of whose policy he himself has always been a faithful pupil and follower.

By the appointment of Mr. Lamar to a judgeship of the Supreme Court, and the ensuing transfer of Mr. Vilas from the Post-Office Department to the Interior, Don M. Dickinson, of Michigan, became Postmaster-General. During his brief term of service he has shown the industry, honesty, and executive capacity, as well as political good sense, which long distinguished him as the



W. C. WHITNEY,

head of his profession and the leader of his party in Michigan.

HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS.

Scarcely less important than the selection of a Cabinet of constitutional advisers was the choice of men to fill those offices popularly recognized as of the second grade, the duties of whose positions compel them none the less to study and learn the details of their various departments, and upon whom the President and the heads of departments must in a large measure depend. Among the men thus chosen, and chosen without mistake, were John Goode, of Virginia, as Solicitor-General of the United States. His nomination was defeated in a partisan Senate by the petty malice of William Mahone, whose nefarious and disgraceful schemes Mr. Goode had exposed at every turn, and with just, unsparing severity. Another was the lamented and gifted Malcolm Hay, of Pennsylvania, whose illness, soon after proving fatal, compelled his early resignation as First Assistant Postmaster-General. His successor, A. E. Stevenson, of Illinois, charged especially with the selection of fourth-class postmasters, by far the most numerous class of public servants, has carried out with conspicuous fidelity the policy, the necessity of which became early apparent, of making the postal service effective by removing the men whose only desire was to

obstruct its operations in order to embarrass the new Administration. George A. Jenks, one of the foremost lawyers of Pennsylvania, who, as counsel for Tilden before the Electoral Commission, achieved more reputation in one Congressional term than comes to most public men in a lifetime, became Assistant Secretary of the Interior, and was a terror to the violators of the land and other laws with the execution of which he was charged. He was finally promoted to be Solicitor-General of the United States. Charles S. Fairchild and Judge Isaac H. Maynard, of New York, together with ex-Governor Hugh J. Thompson, of South Carolina, have done good work as Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury; while General William S. Rosecrans, of California, as Register of the Treasury; Conrad N. Jordan, of New York, as Treasurer of the United States; Judge McCue, of New York, as Solicitor of the Treasury, and Milton J. Durham, of Kentucky, as First Comptroller, have rendered service to the Treasury and the country in the various positions of trust to which they have been called. In the Interior Department the veteran soldier, General Joseph E. Johnston, of Virginia, has been conspicuous as Commissioner of Railroads; John D. C. Atkins, as Indian Commissioner, and Norman J. Coleman, as Commissioner of Agriculture, have administered their important offices, so large as to be of the magnitude of and to be called "departments,"



W. C. ENDICOTT.

with honesty and efficiency. Scarcely second in importance to a Cabinet office is the great Bureau of Pensions, which, under the Commissionership of General John C. Black, the veteran soldier and maimed hero of the Union cause, has been administered with a promptitude, efficiency, economy of expenditure, and liberality of construction unprecedented under Republican administrations. Next in the amount of receipts to the customs service itself is the system of Internal Revenue, which constitutes a department; to the head of it the President, with his characteristic sagacity in the selection of men, called a vigorous, clear-headed, and able executive officer in the person of Joseph S. Miller, an ex-Representative in Congress from West Virginia.

To the wisdom and fitness of choice displayed in these and many other worthy and no less important Executive appointments, and to the singleness of purpose with which the appointees have carried out the President's policies, have been largely due the cohesion and success of Mr. Cleveland's Administration.

In the diplomatic service, Edward J. Phelps, of Vermont, as Minister to England; Robert M. McLane, of Maryland, as Minister to France; George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, as Minister to Germany; George V. N. Lothrop, of Michigan, as Minister to Russia; J. B. Stallo, of Ohio, as Minister to Italy; Richard B. Hubbard, as Minis-

ter to Japan ; and Thomas M. Waller, of Connecticut, as Consul-General to London, are only some of the principal appointments to a branch of the service of which not a single member has reflected discredit or dishonor upon his country or the Administration.

During the first year of his administration President Cleveland was subjected to considerable criticism in his own party, and to malignant misrepresentation from without, because of his rigid adherence to the civil-service reform policy which he had set out to establish and maintain. Many of the less thoughtful members of his own party made the complaint that he did not proceed rapidly enough in the work of making removals. On the other hand, some of his independent supporters were inclined to forget that he was confronted by "a condition, not a theory," and made loud outcry each time some cringing incumbent of an office was removed that the President was forgetting his pledges. Still another class of complaints came from Republicans, both in office and out. There was general resentment on the part of these people at the audacity which would deprive them of what they had come to believe was a vested right to hold office ; consequently, early in the session of the Forty-ninth Congress, the Senate, under the lead of Mr. Edmunds, of Vermont, set up the claim, hitherto never advanced, that that body was entitled to the "papers" upon



WILLIAM F. VILAS,

which removals and appointments had been made. The President refused to comply with this request, holding that such documents affected considerations private to himself. After some little delay the Senate found that its position was indefensible, and quietly receded from it, by confirming the men appointed to the offices in question.

On the whole, however, the people of the country sustained the President in his position. There was general recognition of the fact that many unfriendly incumbents of office had impeded the service in order to discredit the new Administration; that others had truckled to the new powers in the hope that their sudden zeal might hide their cowardice and inefficiency; and that still others had all of a sudden become great reformers when they could no longer prostitute the public service to party and selfish ends. The desire of the people to see fair play finally triumphed over the impatient friends of the President, his impracticable supporters who had expected so much, and his unscrupulous enemies in the Senate and in the minor offices. It was then seen that the standard of public service fixed by the new Administration was such a lofty one that no scandal had come from the actions of any of the new officials, whether in the departments or in the subordinate offices; that the minor places in the departments at Washington and in the large custom-houses and post-offices were filled strictly in obe-

dience to the civil-service law ; that there were no glaring instances in which officials had used their places to do political wrongs, and that, as a whole, the public service of the United States had never been in better condition. For the first time, a substantial advance had been made in genuine civil-service reform, and the President's victory was secured without the alienation of any influential element of his own party, and without violating any obligation, express or implied, which he took upon himself in becoming its candidate. In the years to follow, the wisdom of his policy was to be more fully tested and more emphatically approved.

In the death, on the 25th of November, 1885, of the honored statesman, Thomas A. Hendricks, Vice-President of the United States, the new Democratic circle was first broken. From his earliest manhood, even before he reached his majority, he had upheld the standard of his party, and inculcated such a lofty patriotism that he had never done aught which could be construed as inimical to the interests of his country. The highest honors were paid to his memory. The President, immediately upon the receipt of the sad tidings of his death, issued a proclamation to the country, recounting his services and directing that the various branches of the Government should pay the customary tributes of respect to his memory.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS.

MESSAGES TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE—TARIFF REVISION
AND OTHER REFORMS.

ON the first Monday in December, 1885, the Forty-ninth Congress met, and President Cleveland transmitted his first annual message. He adverted feelingly in its opening sentences to the death of Vice-President Hendricks, and paid a warm tribute to his memory. He discussed with much fullness all the leading questions which affected the country, and with general public acceptance. Among the issues which have since become of great importance were the enactment of laws to prevent the collection of a surplus revenue, the retention of the public lands for actual settlers, and the reform of the abuses which had crept into the civil service. On the reduction of taxation his views were so clear and conscientious upon the one issue, which he has since projected into importance, that his conclusions are given at length:

“The fact that our revenues are in excess of the actual needs of an economical administration of the Government, justifies a reduction in the

amount exacted from the people for its support. Our Government is but the means established by the will of a free people by which certain principles are applied which they have adopted for their benefit and protection; and it is never better administered and its true spirit is never better observed than when the people's taxation for its support is scrupulously limited to the actual necessity of expenditure, and distributed according to a just and equitable plan.

"The proposition with which we have to deal is the reduction of the revenue received by the Government, and indirectly paid by the people from customs duties. The question of free trade is not involved, nor is there now any occasion for the general discussion of the wisdom or expediency of a protective system. Justice and fairness dictate that in any modification of our present laws relating to revenue, the industries and interests which have been encouraged by such laws, and in which our citizens have large investments, should not be ruthlessly injured or destroyed. We should also deal with the subject in such a manner as to protect the interests of American labor, which is the capital of our workingmen; its stability and proper remuneration furnish the most justifiable pretext for a protective policy.

"Within these limitations a certain reduction should be made in our customs revenue. The amount of such reduction having been determined, the inquiry follows, where can it best be remitted and what articles can best be released from duty, in the interests of our citizens? I think the reduction should be made in the revenue derived from a tax upon the imported necessities of life.

We thus directly lessen the cost of living in every family of the land, and release to the people in every humble home a larger measure of the rewards of frugal industry."

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

Having announced his devotion to a genuine reform of the civil-service abuses in his letter of acceptance, in various letters and speeches during the campaign, and in his first inaugural address, he took occasion to emphasize anew his position in the following language:

"I am inclined to think that there is no sentiment more general in the minds of the people of our country, than a conviction of the correctness of the principle upon which the law enforcing civil-service reform is based. * * * * Experience in its administration will probably suggest amendment of the methods of its execution, but I venture to hope that we shall never again be remitted to the system which distributes public positions purely as rewards for partisan service. Doubts may well be entertained whether our Government could survive the strain of a continuance of this system, which upon every change of Administration inspires an immense army of claimants for office to lay siege to the patronage of Government, engrossing the time of public officers with their importunities, spreading abroad the contagion of their disappointment, and filling the air with the tumult of their discontent.

"The allurements of an immense number of offices and places, exhibited to the voters of the

land, and the promise of their bestowal in recognition of partisan activity, debauch the suffrage and rob political action of its thoughtful and deliberative character. The evil would increase with the multiplication of offices consequent upon our extension, and the mania for office-holding, growing from its indulgence, would pervade our population so generally that patriotic purpose, the support of principle, the desire for the public good, and solicitude for the nation's welfare, would be nearly banished from the activity of our party contests and cause them to degenerate into ignoble, selfish, and disgraceful struggles for the possession of office and public place. Civil-service reform enforced by law came none too soon to check the progress of demoralization. One of its effects, not enough regarded, is the freedom it brings to the political action of those conservative and sober men who, in fear of the confusion and risk attending an arbitrary and sudden change in all the public offices with a change of party rule, cast their ballots against such a chance.

"Parties seem to be necessary, and will long continue to exist; nor can it be now denied that there are legitimate advantages, not disconnected with office-holding, which follow party supremacy. While partisanship continues bitter and pronounced, and supplies so much of motive to sentiment and action, it is not fair to hold public officials, in charge of important trusts, responsible for the best results in the performance of their duties, and yet insist that they shall rely, in confidential and important places, upon the work of those not only opposed to them in political affiliation, but so steeped in partisan prejudice and rancor that they

have no loyalty to their chiefs and no desire for their success. Civil-service reform does not exact this, nor does it require that those in subordinate positions who fail in yielding their best service, or who are incompetent, should be retained simply because they are in place. The whining of a clerk discharged for indolence or incompetency, who, though he gained his place by the worst possible operation of the spoils system, suddenly discovers that he is entitled to protection under the sanction of civil-service reform, represents an idea no less absurd than the clamor of the applicant who claims the vacant position as his compensation for the most questionable party work.

“The civil-service law does not prevent the discharge of the indolent or incompetent clerk, but it does prevent supplying his place with the unfit party worker. Thus, in both these phases, is seen benefit to the public service. And the people who desire good government having secured this statute, will not relinquish its benefits without protest. Nor are they unmindful of the fact that its full advantages can only be gained through the complete good faith of those having its execution in charge. And this they will insist upon.”

THE PUBLIC LANDS.

Since the advent of the present Administration the policy of preserving the public lands for actual settlers has been consistently carried out. Closely allied with this policy has been the restoration of unearned lands granted to railroads to the public

domain. The President had given careful attention to the question and thus announced his conclusions :

“It is not for the ‘common benefit of the United States’ that a large area of the public lands should be acquired, directly or through fraud, in the hands of a single individual. The Nation’s strength is in the people. The Nation’s prosperity is in their prosperity. The Nation’s glory is in the equality of her justice. The Nation’s perpetuity is in the patriotism of all her people. Hence, as far as practicable, the plan adopted in the disposal of the public lands should have in view the original policy, which encouraged many purchasers of these lands for homes, and discouraged the massing of large areas. Exclusive of Alaska, about three-fifths of the national domain has been sold or subjected to contract or grant. Of the remaining two-fifths a considerable portion is either mountain or desert. A rapidly increasing population creates a growing demand for homes, and the accumulation of wealth inspires an eager competition to obtain the public land for speculative purposes. In the future this collision of interests will be more marked than in the past, and the execution of the Nation’s trust in behalf of our settlers will be more difficult. I therefore commend to your attention the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary of the Interior with reference to the repeal and modification of certain of our land laws.

“The nation has made princely grants and subsidies to a system of railroads projected as

great national highways to connect the Pacific States with the East. It has been charged that these donations from the people have been diverted to private gain and corrupt uses, and thus public indignation has been aroused and suspicion engendered. Our great nation does not begrudge its generosity, but it abhors speculation and fraud; and the favorable regard of our people for the great corporations to which these grants were made can only be revived by a restoration of confidence, to be secured by their constant, unequivocal, and clearly manifested integrity. A faithful application of the undiminished proceeds of the grants to the construction and perfecting of their roads, an honest discharge of their obligations, and entire justice to all the people in the enjoyment of their rights on these highways of travel, are all the public asks, and it will be content with no less. To secure these things should be the common purpose of the officers of the Government, as well as of the corporations. With this accomplishment, prosperity would be permanently secured to the roads, and national pride would take the place of national complaint."

With the same object in view, he interposed his veto to maintain the lands of the Indian tribes free from invasion by railroads without the consent of the tribes, thus protecting the wards of the nation from the exactions of corporations.

Wherever an attempt has been made by Congress to surrender any of the rights of Indian tribes by giving away privileges to their lands,

President Cleveland has interposed his veto to prevent, or has suggested the insertion of new and additional safeguards for the better protection of their rights.

PROTECTING THE SETTLERS.

During the early part of the year 1887, the Northern Pacific Railroad Company undertook to enforce with much severity certain litigation with men who had settled on certain lands afterward found to lie within the limits of indemnity lands to be selected by the Company for making up any deficiencies in the lands granted to it by Congress. Among these cases was that of Guilford Miller. He claimed that he had settled upon the land in 1878, and that he had cultivated the same under the homestead law until 1884, when he claimed title. The case was referred to the Attorney-General, who, upon its strictly technical and legal aspects, decided against the settler. All the papers were, at his request, turned over to the President, who examined them with the great care and comprehensive industry which has usually distinguished his examination of such cases, both as Governor and President. On April 25th, 1887, he addressed a notable letter to the Secretary of the Interior, suggesting a method of settlement, which, while not interfering with the rights of Miller, would also permit the railroad to select an equal amount of land from some contiguous por-

tion of the public domain to indemnify it for this loss. In other words, the President sought a way to decide the matter upon the equities of the case, in such a way, as he expressed it, "as to protect this settler from hardship and loss."

In the course of his letter he laid down the following as settling the policy he would pursue:

"There seems to be no evidence presented showing how much, if any, of this vast tract is necessary for the fulfillment of the grant to the railroad company, nor does there appear to be any limitation of the time within which this fact should be made known and the corporation obliged to make its selection. After a lapse of fifteen years this large body of the public domain is still held in reserve, to the exclusion of settlers, for the convenience of a corporate beneficiary of the Government, and awaiting its selection, though it is entirely certain that much of this reserved land can never be honestly claimed by said corporation. Such a condition of the public lands should no longer continue. So far as it is the result of executive rules and methods, these should be abandoned, and so far as it is a consequence of improvident laws, these should be repealed or amended.

"Our public domain is our national wealth, the earnest of our growth and the heritage of our people. It should promise limitless development and riches, relief to a crowding population, and homes to thrift and industry. These inestimable advantages should be jealously guarded, and a careful and enlightened policy on the part of the

Government should secure them to the people. In the case under consideration I assume that there is an abundance of land within the area which has been reserved for indemnity, in which no citizen or settler has a legal or equitable interest, for all purposes of such indemnification to this railroad company, if its grant has not already been satisfied."

During the year 1886 an executive proclamation was issued, directing the removal of the fences by which large sections of the public domain in the ranch sections of the country were inclosed. This had become one of the most serious of abuses. Men who had gained the personal or the party favor of men in power had been permitted to fence in great tracts of public land, and they had successfully defied all attempts at their removal. But from the day that President Cleveland issued his order the fences began to come down, and since that time thousands of acres of land have thus been thrown open for the actual settler.

By the action of the President and Secretary of the Interior, about 20,000,000 acres of land not granted to railroads by Congress, but withdrawn from settlement as indemnity lands to await the convenience of railroad companies, were restored to the public domain and thrown open to settlement. Thousands of homes are being made by settlers on these lands. In the Forty-seventh Congress the Republicans were in full possession

of both branches of Congress, and not one railroad land grant was forfeited. In the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses the Democratic party controlled the House of Representatives, and these Congresses passed laws restoring 50,000,000 acres of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain. With scarcely an exception these bills passed the House before the Senate considered them. The Republican Senate passed no forfeiture bill that the House did not pass, but the House passed bills forfeiting 38,000,000 acres of grants that the Republican Senate did not pass, and the House Committee on Public Lands made favorable reports on bills to forfeit grants amounting to 12,000,000 or 13,000,000 more.

VETOING LOG-ROLLING SCHEMES.

Another class of questions which early attracted President Cleveland's attention was that of appropriations for public buildings. It has long been a recognized scandal to the name of Congress that such measures are passed by a system known as log-rolling, or members of Congress or State delegations voting for an appropriation for a like favor to be given in return. The President early in his administration set his face consistently against this policy, and has carried it out to its logical results by interposing his veto of such appropriations where the interest or the sum proposed to be expended largely exceeded the rent

paid for public buildings, always taking into consideration all the elements of the case, such as the presence or absence of Federal courts, of internal revenue offices, and of such conditions as would promote the best interests of the locality in question. By judicious adherence to this policy he has saved large sums of money, and saved the country from the dangers which would follow the bad precedent otherwise set to future legislators and Presidents.

He has also interposed the veto power in the matter of the private claims so persistently lobbied through Congress, insisting that the laws as administered by the courts are generally ample to protect the rights of individuals when dealing with the Government. He has done much by this course to promote the growth of a healthy public sentiment which shall demand the reference of all such claims to the regular Federal courts and to the Court of Claims for adjudication and settlement.

During the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress a bill was passed creating an Inter-State Commerce Commission, and granting it certain powers to prohibit discrimination in rates of carrying of passengers and freight. The bill was at once signed by the President and a most efficient Commission appointed for the purpose of carrying its provisions into effect. Of this Commission Thomas M. Cooley, of Michigan, one

of the ablest jurists in the country, was elected Chairman. The law was universally accepted by both the people and the railroads with good results.

The Pacific Railroads having asked for an extension of the time granted them by the Thurman Act for making settlement with the Government, an act was passed authorizing the appointment of a Commission vested with full power to investigate the question in all its bearings. This Commission was appointed by President Cleveland, and the majority reported in favor of certain rigid assertions of right on the part of the Government as well as in favor of granting certain concessions. Under this report the money advanced by the Government would be secured, and at the same time the companies would be granted such a reasonable extension of time as would enable them to fully carry out their obligations to the Government, without undue impairment of their resources or injury to the section of country dependent upon them for the promotion of its interests. The President sent this report to Congress with favorable recommendations, but insisted that the rights of the Government should be protected by adequate safeguards.

Thus at every turn have President Cleveland and his advisers shown a careful regard for the interests of the people, and a determination to carry out the laws enacted to secure those inter-

ests. No demagoguery has disfigured these whole some efforts to promote the public welfare. No crusade against property of any kind has been indulged in, and no attempt has been made to array one class of men against another.

OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.

At the first session of the Fiftieth Congress the President sent to the Senate a treaty just concluded with the Emperor of China, by which all classes of Chinese excluded from this country under our laws were upon a complete and full understanding with China to be excluded during a term of twenty years. The Administration had been able to negotiate this most desirable treaty because of its liberal policy in dealing with compensations paid to the Government of China as damages for certain outrages perpetrated upon a number of inoffending Chinese in the Territory of Wyoming. But partisan feeling was so strong in the Senate that a change of a single word was made in the treaty, thus rendering it necessary to return it to China for ratification. The treaty secured everything which the Government of the United States had sought to accomplish by law, and made the term of exclusion long enough to turn the tide of Chinese immigration permanently away from our shores.

In his first annual message the President directed attention sharply to the condition of the

law relating to the Presidential succession, with the result that bills which had long been pending without ability to command support in both houses of Congress were taken up and passed into a law which was eminently satisfactory to public sentiment, and under the operation of which the Presidential succession descends from the elected Vice-President to the Cabinet officers, beginning with the Secretary of State, and not to the President *pro tem.* of the Senate.

Approval was given to a law designed to check the manufacture and sale of products fraudulently sold as butter, known as the Oleomargarine Bill, the President going extensively into his reasons for signing the bill.

During the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress President Cleveland sent a special message to Congress recommending legislation looking toward a peaceful settlement by arbitration of disputes between laboring men and their employers. His recommendations were carefully drawn, and the narrow constitutional authority of Congress over the question was enforced; but it showed the President's interest in such questions and his anxiety to do whatever lay in his power to promote an object so worthy the attention of all thoughtful and philanthropic men.

This review of the principal acts of the Administration, brief as it is, is still sufficient to show that every question has been approached with a

desire and determination to act with promptness, intelligence, and vigor on all questions affecting the interests of the public. There has been no cringing to corporations on the one hand and no injustice has been done to them, on the other, having purely partisan or political ends in view. The rights of our people in foreign countries and in commerce have been upheld in a manly and straightforward manner, with determination to exact what was right, but without bluster or bravado. The public service has been clean and honest, so that "public office" has indeed been deemed a "public trust." Whether from the standpoint of the patriot or the partisan of the President, his Administration has fairly justified itself, and it has a right to appeal with confidence to the country.

In nothing has the Administration served its party and the country better than in demonstrating the utter groundlessness of the fears—honestly felt in some quarters and pretended in others—that a change of parties in control of the Government threatened disaster to the business interests of the country. The conservative but firm policy of the President and his Cabinet in all matters touching the relations of the Government with business have inspired confidence in the Administration and disarmed those who have been wont to "indict a whole party" for cherishing destructive purposes. The great commercial



L. Q. C. LAMAR.



centres of the land have been quick to respond to every occasion with expressions of their confidence in the President and his party. The Democracy enters upon the Presidential campaign of 1888 without any of the distrust attaching to it as an organization by which so many of the independent voters in former years seem to have been affected ; and every promise is given in the situation, as it stands, of accessions to the support of Cleveland and Thurman from elements which have hitherto withheld themselves from the Democracy.

CHAPTER XII.

COURTSHIP, MARRIAGE, AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

WHILE there has never been any tendency in the United States to imitate the court customs of European countries, interest has always been strong in the domestic life of our public men, and especially of those called to the Presidency. While the majority of these have been drawn from the average plain life of the plain people of the country, our history does not present a single case in which the men elected President, or who succeeded as Vice-Presidents, were not of gentlemanly social aspect, and their families, if they had them, did not do the honors of the White House with credit to themselves and to their country.

Only twice in the history of the country have our Presidents been bachelors, and, curiously enough, these were James Buchanan, the last Democratic President chosen before the fatal division which sundered the party in 1860, and Grover Cleveland, the first with whom it was to regain power in 1884, after twenty-four years of exclusion. Jackson's wife died a few months before his accession to office. Tyler, Johnson, and

Arthur were widowers when they entered the White House from the Vice-Presidency in succession to their superiors, who had died or had been assassinated in office. Tyler was the only one who had remarried while in office, though not in the White House itself. So that while there had been marrying and giving in marriage in the Executive residence, they had been of the sons and grandsons, or the daughters and granddaughters, of Presidents or their friends, and not of the actual occupants of that historic mansion as the Chief Magistrates of the Union.

When Grover Cleveland was elected President he had reached the somewhat mature age of forty-seven, and having thus far lived the life of a bachelor, he was, not unnaturally, looked upon as a confirmed specimen of this class of men, about whom their friends are always so deeply and so interestingly concerned. Nevertheless, the same universal interest attached itself to him and his social movements as if he had been a Benedict of many years experience. The new President's youngest sister, Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, was, like himself, unmarried. She was, therefore, naturally called to take the position of mistress of the White House, in which a vacancy had existed for some time, because of the fact that President Arthur had also been compelled to rely upon his sister, Mrs. McElroy, to fill this place. Miss Cleveland filled the duties of this somewhat diffi-

cult place with great tact and with general acceptance. She was a cultured woman of the most decided opinions, whose experience as a teacher and writer had led her to rely upon herself in the race of life. But almost from the beginning it was considered, although the President had never given any indication that he was a marrying man, he had certainly not passed "the marrying age," that somewhat movable quality which nobody has ever yet been able to define with accuracy and acceptance.

It soon began to be noised about that the President had entered upon a career of love-making, and it was not long before he blushing and bashfully admitted the impeachment. From that time public interest, on the old principle enunciated by Emerson, that "all the world loves a lover," was concentrated upon the domestic affairs and advantages of the man who occupied such an exalted position. He did not appear to cease from filing vetoes of bad measures, nor from putting an occasional political opponent out and a political supporter into a desirable office, which had something to do with fixing political responsibility upon his administration. Nor did he seem to lose any sleep, as it is sometimes alleged that lovers of the masculine persuasion are wont to do. He did nothing foolish or gushing, as no doubt many other accepted lovers of both sexes expected him to do; but in the meantime preparations proceeded for the wedding.

The gossips were not given much of a chance to suggest doubts as to the name and personality of the woman who was to become a bride in the White House. Miss Frances Folsom, the only child and daughter of Oscar Folsom, was announced as the young woman who had accepted the suit of the President of the United States. She had been a friend and intimate of her future husband from the earliest years of her childhood. Her father was a partner in the practice of his profession and a close personal friend and adviser. He had been killed in an accident with a runaway horse in the year 1875, just as his powers were at their ripest and his prospects of the best. He was a man of genial good nature, generous and open-hearted in his impulses and his life, and a devoted husband and father.

Miss Frances Folsom, called "Frank" before her marriage, was born in Buffalo, New York, July 21st, 1864. As a child she attended the French Kindergarten of Mme. Brecker, and the quickness of apprehension which she then displayed received a fuller exemplification when, upon the return of the family to Buffalo, she entered the Central School, and almost immediately became the pronounced favorite of both teachers and her fellow-pupils. She threw her energies into her studies in a way which augured well for her future success in whatever field she should elect to occupy, and earnest application joined with natural ability to

develop character and instill culture. At this period Mrs. Folsom boarded in the city of Buffalo, and the daughter availed herself of her Central School certificate, which admitted her to the sophomore class at Wells College without preliminary examination. Here again she became a prime favorite, and it was during her sojourn at this institution that the flowers sent her from Albany, and the many evidences of regard which the Governor bestowed, began to cause a whisper that his attachment amounted to something more than mere friendly kindness. The whisper grew into a much more definite utterance when Miss Folsom was graduated and was the recipient of beautiful floral tributes from the White House conservatories. Governor Cleveland had become President of the United States, and the fact that he was a bachelor, coupled with the other fact that his exalted position kept him ever in the bright light of public scrutiny, conspired to set many tongues wagging as to the possible outcome of his acquaintance with the fair graduate, who, in June, 1885, said farewell to *Alma Mater* and went to spend the summer, or a part of it, at the residence of her grandfather, the late Colonel John B. Folsom, of Folsomdale, Wyoming County, N. Y., two miles out of Cowlesville. The old place is a typical homestead, possessing all the homely characteristics of farm-life combined with much of solid comfort and refinement.



BRIDE OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

Exactly what understanding existed between the President and Miss Folsom at the time she went abroad may not be definitely known outside of the circle immediately interested, but it is likely they were betrothed ere her departure. Both parties maintained a guarded silence, and their engagement escaped parade in the newspapers until a date near the time fixed for the wedding.

Little was heard from Miss Folsom until, on the 27th of May, 1886, the Red Star steamer *Noordland*, from Antwerp, sailed into the port of New York, having just transferred to a United States revenue cutter Miss Folsom, her mother, and her cousin, Mr. Benjamin Folsom. The party came comparatively unannounced. Colonel Lamont was present as the President's representative. At the pier the bride-elect was welcomed by Miss Cleveland, and the party was speedily installed at the Gilsey House, where the ladies of the Cabinet joined in a reception and kindly welcome to the modest and beautiful young woman who was soon to make such a stir in American society. On Sunday, May 30th, the President visited his betrothed in New York.

Miss Folsom kept herself secluded during her stay in the metropolis, but as the wedding-day had been fixed for the 2d of June, there was much social sensation over the event. A wedding in the White House was decided upon, and elab-

orate preparations were set on foot. The Executive Mansion became a scene of hasty labors on the part of upholsterers, decorators, and florists; there were crowds of callers, most of whom were unsuccessful in seeing the President, who escaped much annoyance by driving out to his country place, "Pretty Prospect," and turning his visitors over to the tender mercies of the doorkeepers.

By Wednesday, June 2d, the Blue Room, in which the ceremony was to take place, had been converted into a bower of loveliness. The south side was a solid bank of dark-green foliage, against which stood out the red and pink and white of azaleas and camelias. The fire-places were filled with potted plants, while the mantels were nearly concealed beneath banks of flowers. The east mantel was covered with purple pansies, bordered with a line of yellow, and fringed with ferns. On this purple bed appeared the inscription, "June 2d, 1886," in white pansies. On the west mantel was a bank of crimson roses, bordered with maiden's-hair fern, and bearing the monogram "C. F." in white moss roses. The mirrors were bordered by parti-colored garlands composed of roses and other rare flowers. Great palms stood on either side of the doorway leading to the main hall, and a scroll, composed of pinks and bearing the national motto, "*E Pluribus Unum*," was fixed immediately above the centre doorway.

The East Parlor was decorated differently,

but with like elegance and taste; there were fewer flowers, but the display of foliage, especially rare palms, was exceedingly fine. The Green Parlor was comparatively devoid of ornament, but the decoration there was in excellent taste and in pleasing contrast with the greater elaboration bestowed upon the other apartments. In the dining-room the ornamentation was in general similar to that of the East Parlor. Potted plants, arranged in pyramids, filled the corners, and roses festooned the mirrors. The sideboards were covered with rare plants, and a floral piece in the centre of the table represented a ship under full sail, the national colors flying from her mast-head, with a pennant bearing the monogram "C. F."

It was nearly seven o'clock in the evening when the wedding guests assembled in the Blue Room. Owing to the President's desire that the affair should be as private as possible, the Diplomatic Corps had not been invited, and the following guests were the only persons present: Mrs. Folsom, the mother of the bride; Rev. W. N. Cleveland, the President's brother; Mrs. Hoyt and Miss Cleveland, the President's sisters; Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State; Mr. Manning, Secretary of the Treasury, with Mrs. Manning; Mr. Endicott, Secretary of War, with Mrs. Endicott; Mr. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy, with Mrs. Whitney; Mr. Vilas, Postmaster-General, with Mrs. Vilas; Mr. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior;

Colonel Lamont, Private Secretary, with Mrs. Lamont; Benjamin Folsom, Esq.; Mr. and Mrs. Rogers, of Seneca Falls, N. Y.; Mrs. Cadman and Miss Huddleston, of Detroit; Mr. and Mrs. Harmon, of Boston; Miss Nelson, of New York; W. S. Bissell, Esq., of Buffalo, and Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Byron Sunderland. The Attorney-General, though invited, was not present, being disinclined to society.

The guests placed themselves in the form of a semicircle, Mr. Bayard being at the extreme left and Rev. Mr. Cleveland at the extreme right.

The Marine Band, stationed in the anteroom, played the wedding march of Mendelssohn, as Rev. Dr. Sunderland took his position at the south end of the room, and immediately after the bridal party entered. Miss Folsom leaned upon the President's arm, looking exceedingly pretty in her wedding dress of cream white satin, with high, plain corsage, elbow sleeves, and very long train. The front breadth just below the waist was draped from side to side with soft silk India muslin, attached on the left side, and nearly joining the court train. The muslin was bordered with a narrow band of orange flowers and leaves that outlined the draping. The train, which was attached to the plain bodice just below the waist, measured over four yards in length, was slightly rounded, and fell in full plaits on the floor, with no trimming but its own richness. Two scarfs of the



PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S WEDDING.

muslin, starting from the shoulder seams, crossed the bosom in Grecian folds and were bordered with a narrow band of orange flowers to correspond with the skirt. The scarfs disappeared under a girdle of satin, crossing the bodice from left to right. The sleeves were trimmed with folds of the mull and two or three orange buds and blossoms. The tulle veil, six yards in length, was fastened with a coronet of myrtle and orange blossoms above the high coiffure, its folds lightly covering the entire train. The general effect was that of exquisite simplicity, suited to the beauty of the bride. She wore no jewelry and carried no hand-bouquet, but lightly held a beautiful white fan. The President wore full evening dress, and their bearing was dignified and impressive. They were followed by the few guests who were closely related to the contracting parties, and as soon as the usual hush had fallen upon the assemblage Dr. Sunderland offered prayer and followed it with the impressive marriage ceremony, the bride and groom making response in clear tones. The ring was then passed and placed upon the bride's finger, and the two were pronounced man and wife. The benediction was spoken by Rev. Mr. Cleveland. The ceremony occupied ten minutes. Rev. Mr. Cleveland came forward first to offer his congratulations, and kissed the bride. Upon Colonel Lamont's invitation the guests then entered the dining-room, where a collation was

served. Very elegant white satin boxes containing pieces of the wedding cake were distributed as souvenirs, the date, June 2d, 1886, being embroidered in colors on the covers.

Within an hour the President and his wife were on their way to the station of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway to start for Deer Park, Md., where the honeymoon was passed. The time from the 3d until the 8th of June was spent at this pretty resort on the summit of the Alleghenies. On the 8th the couple returned to Washington and to life in the White House.

One week later, on Tuesday, June 15th, the first State reception of the President and Mrs. Cleveland took place; and it was the beginning of a series of social engagements, which fully tested the ability of the young mistress of the White House to do the arduous duties of her new place. Amid blazing lights and blooming flowers, to the soft music of orchestra and all the elegant accompaniments of society entertainments, Cabinet and diplomatic corps, judiciary, Congress, army and navy, the most distinguished men and a great array of beautiful and critical women were received by the winsome bride and her husband. Popular receptions followed, when the great crowds poured through the White House in democratic fashion and greeted her whom all were willing to own the first lady of the land; dinners of state and society dinners followed;



ROSE ELIZABETH CLEVELAND.



REV. BYRON SUNDERLAND, D. D.

guests were entertained at the White House, and its spacious chambers and hospitable board week after week welcomed the highest society of the capital and of the country at large ; the Cabinet ministers and their wives entertained the Presidential couple, and a season of such social brilliancy was ushered in as Washington had never known. In every position and under all circumstances Mrs. Cleveland proved herself a woman of as noble mind as she was acknowledged to be of eminent personal beauty and graceful accomplishments. Her courtesy and tact won the hearts of men and disarmed the criticism of women. A stranger to Washington society, she captivated it from the start, and her reign has never ceased nor has the influence of her charms waned.

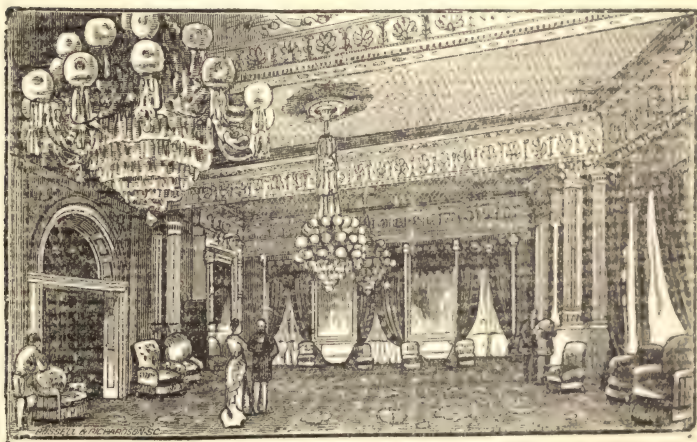
In appearance, Mrs. Cleveland is tall and graceful, with soft, dark-brown hair worn loosely drawn back from the forehead. Her eyes are violet blue, her nose rather large and prominent ; her mouth is mobile and of singular beauty, and a distinct individuality is imparted to the face by heavy eyebrows which nearly meet.

Mrs. Cleveland has, since her marriage, become the most popular, as she is certainly the best-known woman, in the United States. In all the varied domestic, social, and semi-political duties which devolve upon one placed in her position, she has never failed to show the instincts, the training, and the qualities which especially fitted

her for her rank and position. There has never been any desire for display. She has gone freely into society with the President and on her own account wherever she has been, but this has always been done with a modesty and a womanliness which do herself, her sex, and the country infinite credit. She has traveled much, generally with the President, in his summer jaunts to the Adirondacks, and on his revisits to his childhood home in Central New York, on his trips to Harvard College, throughout the West and South, to the Constitutional Centennial Celebration at Philadelphia, to the joint meeting of the Presbyterian General Assemblies of the Northern and Southern Churches at Philadelphia, and upon almost every other visit of importance which he has made to different cities, or to meetings of organizations of one kind or another. She is always willing to lend her presence to assemblies or meetings for religious or moral objects, so that she has shown a willingness and a determination to do her duty in the station to which she has been temporarily called. In every way she has proved herself an efficient helpmeet, and remains now what she became upon her marriage in June, 1886, a faithful wife of an American citizen, called by the will of the people of his country to its highest office. Occupying such a position, and doing her duty thus faithfully, it is not surprising that she has gained a popularity quite as universal as was ever ac-



THE STATE DINING ROOM.



THE EAST ROOM.



corded to any mistress of the White House ; and our social history has never been illustrated by a better example of the true American girl, growing at a single step into the highest type of American womanhood, measuring up to its most sacred duties, and realizing the consecrated joys of our purest domestic life.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PRESIDENT'S TOURS THROUGH THE COUNTRY—
TRIP TO RICHMOND—VISIT TO HARVARD COLLEGE—
THE GARFIELD ORATION—THE CLINTON CENTEN-
NIAL.

ONE of the most forcible and effective arguments used against the election of Cleveland in 1884 was his lack of acquaintance with the country at large—his little experience in meeting with the people of the different sections, his want of sympathy with the varied elements which make the composite citizenship and the vast material greatness of a nation of thirty-eight States and of magnificent territorial possessions. Devoted to his official duties and the arduous concerns of a law practice circumscribed by the boundaries of his own State, he had before his inauguration visited Washington but once, a casual and unnoticed visitor. He knew nothing by personal observation of the great physical resources of the rich empire of Pennsylvania, with its mountains of mineral wealth, its blooming fields of agricultural development, its blazing coke ovens, and the rich yielding oil and gas fields. To the academic halls of New England he was a like stranger. In the South, whose plantations were just recovering from the wasting

ravages of war, he had never visited a single State. Nor had he ever stood in the busy marts of the Great West, each striving for supremacy of trade. In that magnificent domain of the Mississippi Valley, mostly gained for the country by the foresight of the first Democratic President, toward the middle of which the centre of population has been with each decennial census steadily pressing forward, the foot of the twenty-second President had never trod. A natural sympathy with the sovereign people—whose servant and not their ruler he always avowed himself—and a willingness to gratify the unceasing demand that he should come among them, impelled Mr. Cleveland to arrange a series of visits to the different parts of the country. He aimed only at those which could be reached without any serious interruption of his official duties and in a manner that added to and did not detract from the invariable dignity which attended his exercise of the magisterial functions. During a part of the summer of 1886, in that heated term when life is rendered uncomfortable in the capital, when Congressional proceedings are ended and department work limited to the merest routine, he betook himself with his bride to the cool fastnesses and the fishing grounds of the Adirondacks. Thither this narrative need not follow him, though wherever they went they were the cynosure of public attention and the object of journalistic enterprise, if not of occasional impertinence.

On October 21st, 1886, the President, accompanied by Secretaries Bayard, Endicott, and Vilas, for the first time visited Richmond, the capital of the "Old Dominion" State, and in historic importance the first city of the South. All along the way to his destination and upon his arrival there he was greeted with enthusiastic demonstrations, and with the courtesy characteristic of a hospitable and well-bred people. He was welcomed by Governor Fitz Hugh Lee in a speech of friendly salutation, and upon the grounds of the State Fair Mr. Cleveland made felicitous reply. After recounting the historic achievements of Virginia he said:

"In our sisterhood of States the leading and most commanding place must be gained and kept by that Commonwealth which by the labor and intelligence of her citizens can produce most of those things which meet the necessities and desires of mankind. But the full advantage of that which may be yielded a State by the toil and ingenuity of her people is not measured alone by the money value of the product. The efforts and the struggles of her farmers and her artisans not only create new values in the field of agriculture and in the arts and manufactures, but they at the same time produce rugged, self-reliant, and independent men, and cultivate that product which more than all others ennobles a State—a patriotic, earnest American citizenship.

"This will flourish in every part of the American domain; neither drought nor rain can injure it, for it takes root in true hearts enriched by love

of country. There are no new varieties in this production ; it must be the same wherever seen, and its quality is neither sound nor genuine unless it grows to deck and beautify an entire and united nation, nor unless it support and sustain the institutions and the Government founded to protect American liberty and happiness.

“ The present Administration of the Government is pledged to return for such husbandry not only promises but actual tenders of fairness and justice, with equal protection and a full participation in national achievements.

“ If in the past we have been estranged, and the cultivation of American citizenship has been interrupted, your enthusiastic welcome of to-day demonstrates that there is an end of such estrangement, and that the time of suspicion and fear is succeeded by an era of faith and confidence.

“ In such a kindly atmosphere and beneath such cheering skies I greet the people of Virginia as co-laborers in the field where grows the love of our united country.

“ God grant that in the years to come Virginia, the Old Dominion, the Mother of Presidents, she who looked upon the nation at its birth, may not only increase her trophies of growth in agriculture and manufactures, but that she may be among the first of all the States in the cultivation of true American citizenship.”

AT THE HARVARD CELEBRATION.

In November, 1886, Harvard College, the oldest and most famous seat of the higher learning in America, celebrated with fit ceremony the two

hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its founding. Among those upon whom it would have conferred the degree of LL. D. was the President, but he declined it. Accompanied by Mrs. Cleveland and a number of the members of his official staff, he visited Boston and Cambridge upon this occasion. They were welcomed to the metropolis of New England by the Governor of its principal Commonwealth and a brilliant street pageant. In the halls of learning at Cambridge they listened to the poem by that most honored of American men of letters, Oliver Wendell Holmes; and the splendid oration of his co-worker, who has helped so signally to give American literature its due recognition the world over, James Russell Lowell, concluded with this fine tribute to the Chief Magistrate of sixty millions of free people:

“Brethren of the Alumni, it now becomes my duty to welcome in your name the guests who have come, some of them so far, to share our congratulations and hopes to-day. I cannot name them all and give to each his fitting phrase. * * * There is also one other name of which it would be indecorous not to make an exception. You all know that I can mean only the President of our Republic. His presence is a signal honor to us all, and to us all I may say a personal gratification. We have no politics here, but the sons of Harvard all belong to the party which admires courage, strength of purpose, and fidelity to duty,

and which respects, wherever he may be found, the

'Justum ac tenacem propositi virum,'

who knows how to withstand

'Civium ardor prava jubentium.'

He has left the helm of State to be with us here, and so long as it is intrusted to his hands we are sure that, should the storm come, he will say with Seneca's Pilot, 'O Neptune! you may save me if you will; you may sink me if you will; but whatever happen, I shall keep my rudder true.' "

At the Alumni banquet, where ex-Attorney-General Charles Devens presided, Mr. Cleveland made the following address:

"MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:

"I find myself to-day in a company to which I am much unused, and when I see the alumni of the oldest college in the land surrounding in their right of sonship the maternal board at which I am but an invited guest, the reflection that for me there exists no alma mater gives rise to a feeling of regret which is kindly tempered only by the cordiality of your welcome and your reassuring kindness. If the fact is recalled that only twelve of my twenty-one predecessors in office had the advantage of a collegiate or university education, proof is presented of the democratic sense of our people rather than an argument against the supreme value of the best and most liberal education in high public position. There certainly can be no sufficient reason for

any space or distance between the walks of the most classical education and the way that leads to political place. Any disinclination on the part of the most learned and cultured of our citizens to mingle in public affairs, and the consequent abandonment of political activity to those who have but little regard for the student and scholar in politics, are not favorable conditions under a government such as ours, and if they have existed to a damaging extent very recent events appear to indicate that education and conservatism of the land are to be hereafter more plainly heard in expression of the popular will. Surely the splendid destiny which awaits patriotic effort in behalf of our country will be sooner reached if the best of our thinkers and educated men shall deem it a solemn duty of citizenship to actively and practically engage in political affairs, and if the force and power of their thought and learning shall be willingly or unwillingly acknowledged in party management. If I am to speak of the President of the United States, I desire to mention the most pleasant and characteristic feature of our system of government, the nearness of the people to their President and other high officials. The close view afforded our citizens of the acts and conduct of those to whom they have intrusted their interests serves as a regulator and check upon the temptation and pressure of office, and is a constant reminder that diligence and faithfulness are the measure of public duty, and such relations between the President and people ought to leave but little room in the popular judgment and conscience for unjust and false accusations, and for malicious slanders invented

for the purpose of undermining the people's trust and confidence in the administration of their government. No public officer should desire to check the utmost freedom of criticism as to all official acts, but every right-thinking man must concede that the President of the United States should not be put beyond the protection which America's love of fair play and decency accords to every American citizen.

“This trait of our national character would not encourage, if their extent and tendency were fully appreciated, the silly, mean, and cowardly lies that every day are found in the columns of certain newspapers which violate every instinct of American manliness, and in ghoulish glee desecrate every sacred relation of private life. There is nothing in the highest office that the American people can confer which necessarily makes their President altogether selfish, scheming, and untrustworthy. On the contrary, the solemn duties which confront him tending to a sober sense of the responsibility, trust of the American people and appreciation of their mission among nations of the earth, should make him a patriotic man, and tales of distress which reach him from the humble and lowly and needy and afflicted in every corner of the land cannot fail to quicken within him every kind impulse and tender sensibility. After all it comes to this. The people of the United States have one and all a sacred mission to perform, and your President, not more surely than any other citizen who loves his country, must assume a part of the responsibility of demonstrating to the world the success of popular government. No man can hide his talent in a napkin

and escape condemnation. His slothfulness deserves not to evade the stern sentence which his faithlessness invites.

"Be assured, my friends, that the privileges of this day, so full of improvement and enjoyments, of this hour, so full of pleasure and cheerful encouragements, will never be forgotten, and in parting with you now let me express an earnest hope that Harvard's Alumni may always honor the venerable institution which has honored them, and that no man who forgets or neglects his duty to American citizenship shall find his Alma Mater here."

The stamp of thorough appreciation of high culture upon this address; its graceful recognition of the uses of the higher education, and its dignified apology for his own deficiencies, won for its author approval and commendation in quarters where just recognition of his intellectual qualities had hitherto been withheld. If the single discordant note, which detracted somewhat from the art of this otherwise masterful speech, excited slight resentment, it was universally conceded that the President was smarting under deep provocation, and spoke with a warmth that was justified by every manly impulse. Mankind thinks none the less of the impetuous disciple, Simon Peter, because he cut off the servant's ear.

After the college festivities there was accorded to him a popular reception at Faneuil Hall and at the hotel, and in the evening the University students had a great procession.

THE GARFIELD ORATION.

Another felicitous address of Mr. Cleveland was that delivered at the dedication of the monument to President Garfield, erected by the Society of the Army of the Cumberland, at the foot of the Capitol grounds, on May 12th, 1887. After the oration by J. Warren Keifer and other exercises, the President said :

“FELLOW-CITIZENS :

“In performance of the duty assigned to me on this occasion, I hereby accept, on behalf of the people of the United States, this completed and beautiful statue.

“Amid the interchange of fraternal greetings between the survivors of the Army of the Cumberland and their former foes upon the battlefield, and while the Union General and the people's President awaited burial, the common grief of these magnanimous soldiers and mourning citizens found expression in the determination to erect this tribute to American greatness ; and thus to-day in its symmetry and beauty, it presents a sign of animosities forgotten, an emblem of a brotherhood redeemed, and a token of a nation restored.

“Monuments and statues multiply throughout the land, fittingly illustrative of the love and affection of our grateful people and commemorating brave and patriotic sacrifices in war, fame in peaceful pursuits, or honor in public station.

“But from this day forth, there shall stand at our seat of Government this statue of a distinguished citizen, who in his life and services combined all

those things and more, which challenge admiration in American character—loving tenderness in every domestic relation, bravery on the field of battle, fame and distinction in our halls of legislation, and the highest honor and dignity in the Chief Magistracy of the nation.

“This stately effigy shall not fail to teach every beholder that the source of American greatness is confined to no condition, nor dependent alone for its growth and development upon favorable surroundings. The genius of our national life beckons to usefulness and honor those in every sphere, and offers the highest preferment to manly ambition and sturdy, honest effort chastened and consecrated by patriotic hopes and aspirations. As long as this statue stands, let it be proudly remembered that to every American citizen the way is open to fame and station, until he—

“‘Moving up from high to higher,
Becomes on Fortune’s crowning slope
The pillar of a People’s hope,
The centre of a World’s desire.’

“Nor can we forget that it also teaches our people a sad and distressing lesson; and the thoughtful citizen who views its fair proportions cannot fail to recall the tragedy of a death which brought grief and mourning to every household in the land. But while American citizenship stands aghast and affrighted that murder and assassination should lurk in the midst of a free people and strike down the head of their Government, a fearless search and the discovery of the origin and hiding-place of these hateful and unnatural things, should be followed by a solemn resolve to purge forever from our political methods and from the

operation of our Government, the perversions and misconceptions which give birth to passionate and bloody thoughts.

"If from this hour our admiration for the bravery and nobility of American manhood and our faith in the possibilities and opportunities of American citizenship be renewed, if our appreciation of the blessing of a restored Union and love for our Government be strengthened, and if our watchfulness against the dangers of a mad chase after partisan spoils be quickened, the dedication of this statue to the people of the United States will not be in vain."

AMID THE ASSOCIATIONS OF HIS YOUTH.

In May, 1887, the short term of the Forty-ninth Congress having terminated March 4th, President and Mrs. Cleveland set out for the Adirondacks, and spent the greater part of the month of June at Upper Saranac Lake and other points of interest in that attractive region. After a return to Washington and official duties, Mr. Cleveland rejoined his wife about the middle of July, and with Secretary and Mrs. Fairchild and other friends they began a series of visits to points in Central and Western New York, which had been familiar to his boyhood associations and to which his return at this time was of peculiar interest because of certain historical celebrations then in progress.

At Fayetteville, N. Y., where he had lived eleven of the first fourteen years of his life, in

an address upon the village green to two thousand persons gathered to greet him, he spoke most tenderly and feelingly of the schoolmates and childhood pranks of his early days. At Holland Patent, on July 12th; at the Clinton Centennial, July 13th; at Forest Port, July 15th, where he received the citizens at the home of his brother, Rev. Wm. N. Cleveland, and at Cazenovia, July 18th, where he was the guest of the Fairchild household, he was deeply touched by the gracious hospitality and fervent greeting of the family friends who had watched his sudden rise to exalted position and enlarged usefulness with peculiar local and personal pride. Of all the addresses delivered upon this trip the most notable was that made at Clinton, than which none of his public utterances more clearly reveals the profound sentiment and domestic traits of the President. He said:

“I am by no means certain of my standing here among those who celebrate the centennial of Clinton’s existence as a village. My recollections of the place reach backward but about thirty-six years, and my residence here covered a very brief period. But these recollections are fresh and distinct to-day, and pleasant, too, though not entirely free from sombre coloring.

“It was here in the school, at the foot of College Hill, that I began my preparation for col-



ROBERT E. PATTISON,
Twice Governor of Pennsylvania.

lege life and enjoyed the anticipation of a collegiate education. We had but two teachers in our school. One became afterward a judge in Chicago and the other passed through the legal profession to the ministry, and within the last two years was living further West. I read a little Latin with two other boys in the class. I think I floundered through four books of the 'Æneid.' The other boys had nice, large, modern editions of Virgil, with big print and plenty of notes to help one over the hard places. Mine was a little, old-fashioned copy, which my father used before me, with no notes, and which was only translated by hard knocks. I believe I have forgiven those other boys for their persistent refusal to allow me the use of the notes in their books. At any rate, they do not seem to have been overtaken by any dire retribution, for one of them is now a rich and prosperous lawyer in Buffalo, and the other is a professor in your college and the orator of to-day's celebration. The struggles with ten lines of Virgil, which at first made up my daily task, are amusing as remembered now; but with them I am also forced to remember that instead of being the beginning of the higher education for which I honestly longed, they occurred near the end of my school advantages. This suggests a disappointment which no lapse of time can alleviate, and a deprivation I have sadly felt with every passing year.

"I remember Benoni Butler and his store. I don't know whether he was an habitual poet or not, but I heard him recite one poem of his own manufacture which embodied an account of a travel to or from Clinton in the early days. I can recall but two lines of this poem, as follows :

" ' Paris Hill next came in sight,
And there we tarried over night.' "

"I remember the next-door neighbors, Drs. Bissell and Scollard, and good, kind neighbors they were, too, not your cross, crabbed kind, who could not bear to see a boy about. It always seemed to me that they drove very fine horses; and for that reason I thought they must be extremely rich.

"I don't know that I should indulge further recollections that must seem very little like centennial history, but I want to establish as well as I can my right to be here. I might speak of the College Faculty, who cast such a pleasing though sober shade of dignity over the place, and who, with other educated and substantial citizens, made up the best of social life. I was a boy then, and slightly felt the atmosphere of this condition, but, notwithstanding, I believe I absorbed a lasting appreciation of the intelligence and refinement which made this a delightful home.

"I know that you will bear with me, my friends, if I yield to the impulse which the mention of

home creates and speak of my own home here, and how through the memories which cluster about it I may claim a tender relationship to your village. Here it was that our family circle entire, parents and children, lived day after day in loving and affectionate converse, and here for the last time we met around the family altar and thanked God that our household was unbroken by death or separation. We never met together in any other home after leaving this, and death followed closely our departure. And thus it is that as with advancing years I survey the havoc death has made, and the thoughts of my early home become more sacred, the remembrance of this pleasant spot, so related, is revived and chastened. I can only add my thanks for the privilege of being with you to-day, and wish for the village of Clinton in the future a continuation and increase of the blessings of the past."

THE CENTENNIAL AND THE CONSTITUTION.

On September 15th, 16th, and 17th, 1887, the people of the country celebrated with a magnificent pageant and eminently fit public exercises the centennial of the making of their Federal Constitution in Philadelphia. In that city, a hundred years before, had sat the Congress which fashioned this great charter, pronounced by Mr. Gladstone to be "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of

man." The first day's spectacle was an industrial parade, with twenty thousand men in line, and an almost endless train of devices to illustrate the progress of a hundred years in the arts and sciences. The President and his wife, with a party of Cabinet officers and other friends, reached the city on the evening of that day. Mr. Cleveland attended the reception of the Catholic Club to Cardinal Gibbons, and the reception to the visiting Governors of the States at the Academy of Fine Arts; next morning he was welcomed to the Commercial Exchange, and made an address to the business men of Philadelphia, which was received with much favor; later in the day, he reviewed the parade of twenty thousand soldiers, and in the evening the President and Mrs. Cleveland received the people in the Academy of Music, where ten thousand persons paid their respects. The same evening, the President visited the dinner of the Clover Club, a Bohemian dining organization, at whose board some of the most brilliant wits of the country are to be found, and he bravely held his own in light badinage and ready repartee. The literary and musical exercises were held Saturday, September 17th, 1887, in Independence Square, and, before the delivery of the oration by Justice Miller, of the United States Supreme Court, the President made the following address:

"I deem it a very great honor and pleasure to participate in these impressive exercises. Every

American citizen should on this centennial day rejoice in his citizenship. He will not find the cause of his rejoicing in the antiquity of his country, for among the nations of the earth his stands with the youngest. He will not find it in the glitter and the pomp that bedeck a monarch and dazzle abject and servile subjects, for in this country the people themselves are the rulers. He will not find it in the story of bloody foreign conquests, for his Government has been content to care for its own domain and people. He should rejoice because the work of framing our Constitution was completed one hundred years ago to-day, and because when completed it established a free Government. He should rejoice because this Constitution and Government have survived with so many blessings and have demonstrated so fully the strength and value of popular rule. He should rejoice in the wondrous growth and achievements of the past one hundred years and also in the glorious promise of the Constitution through centuries to come. We shall fail to be duly thankful for all that was done for us one hundred years ago unless we realize the difficulties of the work then in hand, and the dangers avoided in the task of forming 'a more perfect Union' between disjointed and inharmonious States, with interests and opinions radically diverse and stubbornly maintained. The perplexities of the Convention which undertook the labor of pre-

paring our Constitution are apparent in these earnest words of one of the most illustrious of its members: 'The small progress we have made after four or five weeks of close attendance and continued reasoning with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question—several of the last producing as many noes as yeas—is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We indeed seem to feel our want of political wisdom, since we have been running about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government and examined the different forms of those republics which, having been formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist. In this situation of this assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have heretofore not once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Light to illuminate our understanding?'

"And this wise man, proposing to his fellows that the aid and blessing of God should be invoked in their extremity, declared: 'I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live the more convincing proof I see of the truth that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His notice? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred

writings, that except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it. I firmly believe this, and I also believe that without His concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the building of Babylon. We shall be divided by our little partial interests, our projects shall be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and byword down to future ages; and, what is worse, mankind may hereafter from this unfortunate instance despair of establishing governments by human wisdom and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.'

"In the face of all discouragements the fathers of the Republic labored on for four weary, long months in alternate hope and fear, but always with rugged resolve, never faltering in a sturdy endeavor sanctified by a prophetic sense of the value to posterity of their success and always with unflinching faith in the principles which make the foundation of a government by the people. At last their task was done. It is related that upon the back of the chair occupied by Washington as President of the Convention a sun was painted, and that as the delegates were signing the completed Constitution one of them said: 'I have often and often, in the course of the session and in the solicitude of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I know that it is a ris-

ing and not a setting sun.' We stand to-day on the spot where this rising sun emerged from political night and darkness, and in its own bright meridian light we mark its glorious way. Clouds have sometimes obscured its rays and dreadful storms have made us fear, but God has held it on its course, and through its life-giving warmth has performed His latest miracle in the creation of this wondrous land and people. As we look down that past century to the origin of our Constitution ; as we contemplate its trials and its triumphs ; as we realize how completely the principles upon which it is based have met every national peril and every national deed, how devoutly should we confess with Franklin, 'God governs in the affairs of men,' and how solemn should be the reflection that to our hands is committed this ark of the people's covenant, and that ours is the duty to shield it from impious hands. We receive it sealed with the tests of a century. It has been found sufficient in the past, and in all the future years it will be found sufficient if the American people are true to their sacred trust.

"Another centennial day will come, and millions yet unborn will inquire concerning our stewardship and the safety of their Constitution. God grant that they may find it unimpaired ; and as we rejoice in the patriotism and devotion of those who lived a hundred years ago, so may others who follow us rejoice in our fidelity and in our jealous love for constitutional liberty."

In the evening a great banquet was given jointly by the learned and scientific societies of Philadelphia in the Academy of Music. Six hundred of the most distinguished men of the country sat down to it, and the President made another felicitous address, after having also, earlier in the evening, made a happy after-dinner speech at the quarterly feast of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. Philadelphia society, critical, exclusive, and intensely Republican, was stirred to its depths with enthusiasm for the President, and only divided the lavish honors paid him with his winsome and popular helpmeet.

On October 28th, 1886, President Cleveland bore a conspicuous part in the ceremonies of unveiling the Bartholdi Statue of "Liberty" on Bedloe Island in New York Harbor. This magnificent work was the gift to America of the sculptor and the French people; the enterprise of the New York *World* secured the necessary fund to erect the pedestal. The dedication of it was the occasion of a great civic, military, and naval demonstration; and Mr. Cleveland's brief address was graceful and appropriate.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TOUR TO THE SOUTH AND WEST.

THE greatest popular ovation and personal triumph awaited his journey to the West, the Northwest, and the South. A hundred years before the chief executive of the Republic, the father of his country, had set the well-approved fashion of a President becoming personally acquainted with the land whose affairs he is expected to administer. In 1791 Washington visited New England and went as far south as Augusta, Ga., traveling one thousand seven hundred miles in sixty-six days.

On the morning of September 30th, 1887, a train of three magnificently appointed Pullman palace cars, furnished with all the appliances and comforts of modern travel, drew out from the Baltimore and Potomac Station in Washington, bearing the President, his wife, Secretary Lamont and wife, and other political associates and personal friends, ladies and gentlemen, the party being somewhat changed at different points of the route. At Baltimore, York, Harrisburg, Altoona, Pittsburgh,



GREETING AT THE RAILWAY STATION.

and other stopping places, great crowds of people thronged the railway stations and gave vent to their enthusiasm by every conceivable variety of demonstration.

Beyond Pittsburgh the shooting of a gas well, especially arranged for the Presidential party by Mr. James M. Guffey, was a novel spectacle, illustrative of the peculiar natural features and marvelous resources of Western Pennsylvania. The State of Ohio was traversed at nighttime, and the first stop was made in Indianapolis. There a general decoration of the city, a great procession of people, booming cannon, pealing bells, and bands of music welcomed the distinguished party. In responding to Governor Gray's address the President paid a feeling tribute to Indiana's great statesman, who had been associated with him on the ticket in 1884, and Mrs. Hendricks entertained the visitors at lunch. Resuming their journey, the party reached St. Louis at midnight of the second and third days; and attendance upon Divine worship on Sunday was followed next day with visits to the Fair, then in progress, receptions at the hands of the Commercial Exchanges, general assemblages of the people to do honor to their civil head, and the pomp of immense parades.

Chicago was reached on October 5th, and like scenes of popular enthusiasm were witnessed there. In a public address in that city the President gave expression to his idea of the duty of

the people in relation to the responsibilities of their officials :

“ You have said the President ought to see Chicago. I am here to see it and its hospitable, large-hearted people. But because your city is so great, and your interests so large and important, I know you will allow me to suggest that I have left at home a city you ought to see and know more about. In point of fact, it would be well for you to keep your eyes closely upon it all the time. Your servants and agents are there. They are there to protect your interests and to aid your efforts to advance your prosperity and well-being. Your bustling trade, and your wearing, ceaseless activity of hand and brain, will not yield the results you deserve unless wisdom guides the policy of your Government, and unless your needs are regarded at the Capitol of the nation. It will be well for you not to forget that in the performance of your political duties with calm thoughtfulness and broad patriotism there lies not only a safeguard against business disaster, but an important obligation of citizenship.”

From Chicago the tourists went to Milwaukee, thence to Madison, where the Sabbath was quietly spent with the family of Postmaster-General Vilas. In a speech at the banquet given by the people of Milwaukee, Mr. Cleveland, speaking of the Presidency, used this language :

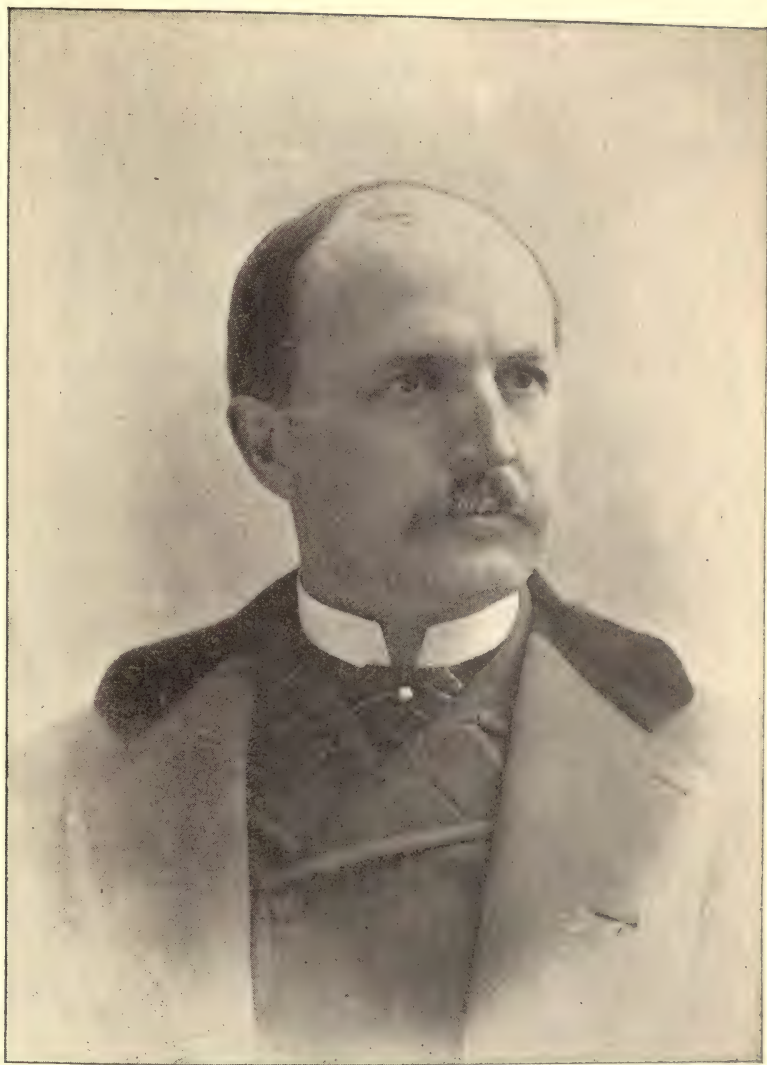
“ And because it belongs to all the people, the

obligation is manifest on their part to maintain a constant and continuous watchfulness and interest concerning its care and operation. Their duty is not entirely done when they have exercised their suffrage and indicated their choice of the incumbent. Nor is their duty performed by settling down to bitter, malignant, and senseless abuse of all that is done or attempted to be done by the incumbent selected. The acts of an Administration should not be approved as a matter of course, and for no better reason than that it represents a political party. But more unpatriotic than all others are those who, having neither party discontent nor fair ground of criticism to excuse or justify their conduct, rail because of personal disappointments, who misrepresent for sensational purposes, and who profess to see swift destruction in the rejection of their plans of governmental management. After all, we need have no fear that the American people will permit this high office to suffer. There is a patriotic sentiment abroad which, in the midst of all party feeling and all party disappointment, will assert itself, and will insist that the office which stands for the people's will, shall, in all its vigor, minister to their prosperity and welfare."

From Madison, by way of La Crosse, the Presidential company proceeded to St. Paul and Minneapolis, the two marvelous cities of the great Northwest. To the people of St. Paul the President pleasantly said:

“My visit to you being a social one, and trusting that we have a sort of friendly feeling for each other, I want to suggest to you why I am particularly and personally interested in St. Paul and its people. Some years ago a young girl dwelt among you and went to school. She has grown up to be a woman, and is now my wife. If any one thinks a President ought not to mention things of this sort in public, I hope he or she does not live in St. Paul, for I do not want to shock anybody when I thank the good people of this city because they neither married nor spoiled my wife, and when I tell them they are related to that in my life better than all earthly honors and distinctions. Hereafter, you may be sure that her pleasant recollections of her school days will be reinforced by the no less pleasant memory of our present visit, and thus will our present interest in St. Paul and its kind citizens be increased and perpetuated.”

The train left Minneapolis for Omaha early on the morning of October 12th, and as progress westward was made the demonstrations of welcome took on a more novel aspect. At Chaska tar barrels stacked high were burned, balloons set off, and brass bands drowned the locomotive whistle. At Sioux City baskets of flowers were showered upon the guests of the people; and in Omaha a great concourse welcomed them. Thence the trip was directed to Kansas City, where a



EX-GOVERNOR CAMPBELL.

longer stay had been arranged. While there the President laid the corner-stone of the new building for the Young Men's Christian Association, and the following is an extract from his address upon that occasion :

"In the busy activities of our daily life we are apt to neglect instrumentalities which are quietly but effectually doing most important service in molding our national character. Among these, and challenging but little notice compared with their valuable results, are the Young Men's Christian Associations scattered throughout the country. All will admit the supreme importance of that honesty and fixed principle which rest upon Christian motives and purposes, and all will acknowledge the sad and increasing temptations which beset our young men and lure them to their destruction.

"To save these young men, oftentimes deprived of the restraints of home, from degradation and ruin, and to fit them for usefulness and honor, these associations have entered the field of Christian effort and are pushing their noble work. When it is considered that the objects of their efforts are to be the active men for good or evil in the next generation, mere human prudence dictates that these associations should be aided and encouraged. Their increase and flourishing condition reflect the highest honor upon the good men who have devoted themselves

to this work, and demonstrate that the American people are not entirely lacking in appreciation of its value. Twenty years ago but one of these associations owned a building, and that was valued at eleven thousand dollars. To-day more than one hundred such buildings, valued at more than five million dollars, beautify the different cities of our land and beckon our young men to lives of usefulness.

"I am especially pleased to be able to participate to-day in laying the corner-stone of another of these edifices in this active and growing city; and I trust that the encouragement given the Young Men's Christian Association located here may be commensurate with its assured usefulness and in keeping with the generosity and intelligence which are characteristic of the people of Kansas City."

Turning southward from Kansas City, the next important stop was made at Memphis, Tenn. On the way thither, **what** might have proved a terrible disaster was averted by the providential discovery in good time that a trestle over which the train must pass had been fired. A sad accident which clouded the celebration at Memphis was the sudden death of Judge John T. Ellett, who expired on the platform just after the President had replied to the address of welcome delivered by Judge Ellett for his fellow-citizens. Sunday was spent at the beautiful Belle Meade farm of General W. H. Jackson, and on Monday, October 17th, Nash-

ville and Chattanooga received the visitors with true Southern hospitality. Atlanta, Georgia, and Montgomery, Alabama, were reserved for the close of the tour, which had been from the beginning a perfect success, and was attended with such demonstrations of popular good feeling as no event since the close of the war had excited. At Montgomery, the President, his heart filled with joy at the sure signs he saw everywhere of a restored Union and a subsidence of sectionalism, said :

“Your fellow-countrymen appreciate the value of intimate and profitable business relations with you, and there need be no fear that they will permit them to be destroyed or endangered by designing demagogues. The wickedness of those partisans who seek to aid their ambitious schemes by engendering hate among a generous people is fast meeting exposure ; and yet there is and should be an insistence upon a strict adherence to the settlement which has been made of disputed questions and upon the unreserved acceptance of such settlement. As against this I believe no business considerations should prevail, and I firmly believe that there is American fairness enough abroad in the land to insure a proper and substantial recognition of the good faith which you have exhibited. We know that you still have problems to solve involving considerations concerning you alone, questions beyond the reach of

Federal law or interference, and with which none but you should deal. I have no fear that you will fail to do your manful duty in these matters, but may I not, in the extension of the thoughts which I have before suggested, say to you that the educational advantages and the care which may be accorded to every class of your citizens have a relation to the general character of the entire country as intimate and potential as your production and the development of your mineral resources have to its material prosperity?"

The tone of this address reflected the feelings awakened not only in the President, but in the minds of his fellow-countrymen, who were deeply impressed by the pervading and enthusiastic patriotism of a section so lately estranged; and when Mr. Cleveland returned to Washington on October 22d, his movements for the past three weeks had done much to strengthen the popular sentiment in behalf of obliterating from American politics the baleful issues of race and sectional strife.

AT THE PRESBYTERIAN REUNION.

On February 21st, 1888, the President and his wife, accompanied by some of his Cabinet, made a brief trip to a part of the South not visited before. They spent a day or two in Jacksonville, Florida, being received there and at all the stations on the way with extravagant outbursts of enthusiasm. Returning, a few days later, they were greeted in

Charleston, S. C., with like cordiality and heartiness.

In May, 1888, the two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church, North and South, being then in session in Philadelphia and Baltimore, respectively, the notion was conceived by some of the good people desiring the closer union and the final reconciliation of these bodies to bring them into a social conference. Arrangements were made for public meetings and for the private entertainment of the delegates; the President, himself the son of a Presbyterian clergyman, was urgently invited to participate in the exercises, and he visited Philadelphia for that purpose.

At a reception to the members of the two Assemblies, given by Mr. Wistar Morris at his home in Overbrook, a suburb of Philadelphia, on May 21st, the President spoke as follows:

"I am very much gratified by the opportunity here afforded me to meet the representatives of the Presbyterian Church.

"Surely a man never should lose his interest in the welfare of the Church in which he was reared; and yet I will not find fault with any of you who deem it a sad confession made when I acknowledge that I must recall the days now long past to find my closest relations to the grand and noble denomination which you represent. I say this because those of us who inherit fealty to our Church, as I did, begin early to learn those things which

make us Presbyterians all the days of our lives ; and thus it is that the rigors of our earliest teaching, by which we are grounded in our lasting allegiances, are especially vivid and perhaps the best remembered. The attendance upon church services three times each Sunday, and upon Sabbath-school during noon intermission, may be irksome enough to a boy of ten or twelve years of age to be well fixed in his memory ; but I have never known a man who regretted these things in the years of his maturity. The Shorter Catechism, though thoroughly studied and learned, was not, perhaps, at the time perfectly understood ; and yet in the stern duties and labors of after life those are not apt to be the worst citizens who were early taught, ‘What is the chief end of man?’

“Speaking of these things and in the presence of those here assembled, the most tender thoughts crowd upon my mind—all connected with Presbyterianism and its teachings. There are present with me now memories of a kind and affectionate father, consecrated to the cause, and called to his rest and his reward in the midday of his usefulness ; a sacred recollection of the prayers and pious love of a sainted mother and a family circle hallowed and sanctified by the spirit of Presbyterianism.

“I certainly cannot but express the wish and hope that the Presbyterian Church will always be

at the front in every movement which promises the temporal as well as the spiritual advancement of mankind. In the turmoil and the bustle of every-day life few men are foolish enough to ignore the practical value to our people and our country of the church organizations established among us and the advantage of Christian example and teaching.

“The field is vast and the work sufficient to engage the efforts of every sect and denomination; but I am inclined to believe that the Church which is most tolerant and conservative without loss of spiritual strength will soonest find the way to the hearts and affections of the people. While we may be pardoned for insisting that our denomination is the best, we may, I think, safely concede much that is good to all other Churches that seek to make men better.

“I am here to greet the delegates of two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church. One is called ‘North’ and the other ‘South.’ The subject is too deep and intricate for me, but I cannot help wondering why this should be. These words, so far as they denote separation and estrangement, should be obsolete. In the counsels of the nation and in the business of the country they no longer mean reproach and antagonism. Even the soldiers who fought for the North and for the South are restored to fraternity and unity. This fraternity and unity is taught and enjoined by our

Church. When shall she herself be united with all the added strength and usefulness that harmony and union insure?"

TO THE CATHOLIC CLUB.

The frankness and self-assertion of this expression, coupled with a true spirit of religious toleration, recall Mr. Cleveland's letter to the Catholic Club, of Philadelphia, to which, under date of February 10th, 1887, he wrote:

"The thoughtfulness which prompted this invitation is gratefully appreciated, and I regret that my public duties here will prevent its acceptance. I should be glad to join the contemplated expression of respect to be tendered to the distinguished head of the Catholic Church in the United States, whose personal acquaintance I very much enjoy, and who is so worthily entitled to the esteem of all his fellow-citizens.

"I thank you for the admirable letter which accompanied my invitation, in which you announce as one of the doctrines of your Club 'that a good and exemplary Catholic must, *ex necessitate rei*, be a good and exemplary citizen,' and 'that the teachings of both human and divine law, thus merging in the one word duty, form the only union of Church and State that a civil and religious Government can recognize.'

"I know you will permit me as a Protestant to supplement this noble sentiment by the expres-

sion of my conviction that the same influence and result follow a sincere and consistent devotion to the teachings of every religious creed which is based upon Divine sanction. A wholesome religious faith thus inures to the perpetuity, the safety, and prosperity of our Republic, by exacting the due observance of civil law, the preservation of public order, and a proper regard for the rights of all; and thus are its adherents better fitted for good citizenship and confirmed in a sure and steadfast patriotism. It seems to me, too, that the conception of duty to the State, which is derived from religious precept, involves a sense of personal responsibility which is of the greatest value in the operation of the Government by the people. It will be a fortunate day for our country when every citizen feels that he has an ever present duty to perform to the State which he cannot escape from or neglect without being false to his religious as well as his civil allegiance."

VERSATILITY OF GENIUS.

On June 27th, 1888, the President attended the commencement exercises of the University of Virginia, at Charlottesville, conferred the degrees upon the graduates, received many thousands of visitors, and responded to a sentiment at the alumni dinner, after which he visited the house and the grave of Jefferson, founder of the University.

On July 3d, 1888, the German singing societies of the country, holding their national Sængerfest in Baltimore, Md., gave the President and his wife an urgent invitation to attend one of their grand concerts in the Academy of Music. The invitation was accepted, and the visit was the occasion of a magnificent ovation to the Presidential party, not only from his enthusiastic German admirers, but from the Democratic clubs of the country, then assembling in their great Fourth of July Convention.

The foregoing narrative recalls visits of the President to every section of the country excepting the Pacific slope and the extreme Southwest, touching three-fourths of the States and many of the chief cities; demanding from him attention to the widest variety of interests, moral and material, and drawing upon him for frequent public speeches. These many occasions found him ready, apt, and versatile; and nothing could better illustrate the profound earnestness, the lofty patriotism and the keen intelligence of the President, than the elevated bearing and the easy yet dignified demeanor which have marked his commingling with his fellow-countrymen at their homes and amid their familiar associations.

CHAPTER XV.

EXERCISE OF THE VETO POWER —THE BATTLE-FLAG INCIDENT—FRAUDULENT PENSION BILLS.

ALTHOUGH the Constitution of the United States requires the assent of the President to every bill before it becomes a law, unless both Houses determine by a two-thirds aye-and-no vote to pass it over his veto, this power of disapproval has been, on the whole, sparingly used by the Executives of the United States. Until 1830 there were but nine vetoes—two by Washington, none by Adams, none by Jefferson, six by Madison, and one by Monroe. Jackson exercised the veto nine times, besides pocketing several bills presented just prior to the final adjournment.

So infrequent was the exercise of this power that Jackson and the prerogative itself were

fiercely attacked, and Tyler had a stormy time because he had the temerity to veto six bills.

"Polk vetoed three and Pierce nine bills; Buchanan and Lincoln but few; Grant more, one of his forty-two vetoes being of a bill to increase the amount of greenbacks to \$400,000,000 and authorize the issue of \$46,000,000 in national bank notes; Johnson, in his controversy with Congress, a great many. And so of President Hayes, when it was attempted to repeal general legislation by riders on appropriation bills, though his most important veto was of the silver bill of 1878. President Arthur exercised the power but rarely.

"It has devolved upon the present incumbent of the Presidential office to exercise the veto power in more instances than all the other Presidents put together; a clear indication of the increase in legislation and of carelessness in the enactment of special laws, requiring greater care in examination and the application of closer business scrutiny, as well, doubtless, of a different view of the functions of government than that indulged in by some of the leading politicians in the period just preceding Mr. Cleveland's inauguration.

" * * * His view in taking office seems to have been that free institutions are inconsistent with a paternal government; that governmental administration is a business matter, to be carried

forward on business principles ; that it is the duty of the Executive to examine all bills presented to him for his approval, and to require a reconsideration of those which he thinks improper to be passed into laws. There is not a particle of doubt that it was the intention of the framers of the Constitution, and of those who adopted it, that this should be the attitude of the Executive in relation to the enactment of laws ; and it is clear that the danger was that the power would be exercised too little, rather than too often or too much. It is vastly easier to say yes than no ; to yield to importunity rather than resist it.”*

To Mr. Cleveland’s conscientious care and unflagging personal industry in the detailed examination of legislative enactments, as much as to the considerations advanced in the foregoing extracts, have been due the unexampled frequency and vigor with which he has wielded the veto power. That he has not gone far wrong, upon the whole, is shown by the fact that the two Houses of Congress have almost invariably acquiesced in the wisdom of his decisions and the cogency of his reasons.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR FEDERAL BUILDINGS.

While individual members, intent upon making capital for themselves at home, and special locali-

* The President’s Vetoes, pp. 7, 8.

ties, eager to serve their own interests at the general expense, have bewailed the disapproval of their bills for public building appropriations, the average common sense of the great body of the people has heartily approved the stand taken by the President, and has recognized the consistency of his cause in measuring such bills by considerations like these, announced in his various messages :

“The necessities of the Government should control the question, and it should be decided as a business proposition, depending upon the needs of a Government building at the points proposed, in order to do the Government work.”

“While a fine Government building is a desirable ornament to any town or city, and while the securing of an appropriation therefor is often considered as an illustration of zeal and activity in the interests of a constituency, I am of the opinion that the expenditure of public money for such a purpose should depend upon the necessity of such a building for public uses.”

“The care and protection which the Government owes to the people do not embrace the grant of public buildings to decorate thriving and prosperous cities and villages, nor should such buildings be erected upon any principle of fair distribution among localities. The Government is not an almoner of gifts among the people, but an instrumentality by which the people's affairs

should be conducted upon business principles, regulated by the public needs."

Upon another occasion, in disposing of a bill for the relief of a stricken community, he assumed this statesmanlike position :

"I do not believe that the power and duty of the General Government ought to be extended to the relief of individual suffering which is in no manner related to the public service or benefit. A prevalent tendency to disregard the limited mission of this power and duty should, I think, *be steadfastly resisted, to the end that the lesson should be constantly enforced that though the people support the Government, the Government should not support the people.* The friendliness and charity of our countrymen can always be relied upon to relieve their fellow-citizens in misfortune. This has been repeatedly and quite lately demonstrated. *Federal aid in such cases encourages the expectation of paternal care on the part of the Government, and weakens the sturdiness of our national character,* while it prevents the indulgence among our people of the kindly sentiment and conduct which strengthen the bond of a common brotherhood."

THE PENSION VETOES.

His most numerous class of vetoes has included a large number of the cases of private pension bills, whose beneficiaries or their agents, unwilling

to depend upon the ordinary operation of the extremely liberal existing pension laws and their present prompt execution, resort to Congress for special action on their cases. In that body they are acted upon without general investigation of their merits and without any of the deliberation and care which characterize department work.

The President, as all members of Congress well know, did not overstate the case when, in his message of June 21st, 1886, he said: "A large proportion of these bills have never been submitted to a majority of either branch of Congress, but are the results of nominal sessions, held for the express purpose of their consideration, and attended by a small minority of the members of the respective Houses of the legislative branch of Government. Thus, in considering these bills I have not felt that I was aided by the deliberate judgment of the Congress; and when I have deemed it my duty to disapprove many of the bills presented, I have hardly regarded my action as a dissent from the conclusions of the people's representatives."

An uncontradicted description of a recent scene in the Senate, with the President's most relentless and abusive antagonist, Senator Ingalls, in the chair, illustrates how necessary to save the public treasury is the careful and judicious examination by the Executive of bills thus passed:

"The Senate yesterday considered pension

bills on the calendar and in a short space of time passed about ninety of them. The mode of procedure in this rapid passage of the bills is rather interesting. Usually, when such a measure is to be considered, the bill is reported by its number and the presiding officer says: 'In Committee of the Whole and the bill will be read at length.' This is done, and then he says: 'The bill is open to amendment: if there be no amendment it will be reported to the Senate. The Committee has had under consideration bill numbered ——. The bill is still open to amendment. If there be no amendment the question is upon ordering the bill to be engrossed and read a third time. Senators in the affirmative will say "aye;" negative, "no." The ayes appear to have it; the bill will be engrossed and read the third time.' The bill is then read by its title, when the presiding officer says: 'The question is upon the passage of the bill,' and the question is then put.

"But when the Senate is considering these bills hastily upon the calendar a different method is adopted. It is understood that no objection will be made to them, and it is desirable to get them out of the way as quickly as possible. Yesterday Mr. Ingalls stood up in front of his desk marking the place on the calendar. He would call for a bill by its number on the order of business and the clerk would report its number as a bill. Then Mr. Ingalls says: 'In Committee of the

Whole.' The clerk reads the bill rapidly, and as he finishes Mr. Ingalls says: 'Reported to the Senate, engrossed, read third time, and passed. No. —,' calling out the next measure. No vote is taken; no one listened to the bill; in fact, the whole business was transacted by the President *pro tempore* and the Clerk. There were less than a dozen Senators in the chamber, all engaged in something else than giving attention to the business being transacted, as, in fact, their attention was not required."

The frequency with which private bills have had to be vetoed therefore illustrates the carelessness of Congress and not the existence of any hostility on Mr. Cleveland's part to this special class of legislation. On the contrary, with proper qualification against frauds and impostures upon the Government's bounty, Mr. Cleveland has shown himself consistently in favor of its most liberal extension to deserving subjects of it. In his annual message, December 6th, 1886, he presents this succinct and striking statement:

"The report of the Commissioner of Pensions contains a detailed and most satisfactory exhibit of the operations of the Pension Bureau during the last fiscal year. *The amount of work done was the largest in any year since the organization of the Bureau; and it has been done at less cost than during the previous year in every division.*

“On the thirtieth day of June, 1886, there were 365,783 pensioners on the rolls of the Bureau.

“Since 1861 there have been 1,018,732 applications for pensions filed, of which 78,834 were based upon service in the War of 1812. There were 621,754 of these applications allowed, including 60,178 to the soldiers of 1812 and their widows.

“The total amount paid for pensions since 1861 is \$808,624,811.57.

“The number of new pensions allowed during the year ended June 30th, 1886, is 40,857—a larger number than has been allowed in any year save one since 1861; the names of 2,229 pensioners which had been previously dropped from the rolls, were restored during the year, and after deducting those dropped within the same time for various causes, a net increase remains for the year of 20,658 names.

“From January 1st, 1861, to December 1st, 1885, 1,967 private pension acts had been passed. Since the last-mentioned date, and during the last session of the Congress, 644 such acts became laws.

“It seems to me that no one can examine our pension establishment and its operations without being convinced that through its instrumentality justice can be very nearly done to all who are entitled under present laws to the pension bounty of the Government.

“But it is undeniable that cases exist, well en-

titled to relief, in which the Pension Bureau is powerless to aid. The really worthy cases of this class are such as only lack by misfortune the kind or quantity of proof which the law and regulations of the Bureau require, or which, though their merit is apparent, for some other reason cannot be justly dealt with through general laws. These conditions fully justify application to the Congress and special enactments. But resort to the Congress for a special pension act to overrule the deliberate and careful determination of the Pension Bureau on the merits or to secure favorable action when it could not be expected under the most liberal execution of general laws, it must be admitted, opens the door to the allowance of questionable claims and presents to the legislative and executive branches of the Government applications concededly not within the law and plainly devoid of merit, but so surrounded by sentiment and patriotic feeling that they are hard to resist. I suppose it will not be denied that many claims for pensions are made without merit and that many have been allowed upon fraudulent representations. This has been declared from the Pension Bureau, not only in this, but in prior Administrations.

“The usefulness and the justice of any system for the distribution of pensions depend upon the equality and uniformity of its operation.

“It will be seen from the report of the Commis-

sioner that there are now paid by the Government one hundred and thirty-one different rates of pension.

“He estimates from the best information he can obtain that nine thousand of those who have served in the Army and Navy of the United States are now supported, in whole or in part, from public funds or by organized charities, exclusive of those in soldiers’ homes under the direction and control of the Government. Only 13 per cent. of these are pensioners, while of the entire number of men furnished for the late war something like 20 per cent., including their widows and relatives, have been or are now in receipt of pensions.

“The American people, with a patriotic and grateful regard for our ex-soldiers—too broad and too sacred to be monopolized by any special advocates—are not only willing but anxious that equal and exact justice should be done to all honest claimants for pensions. In their sight the friendless and destitute soldier, dependent on public charity, if otherwise entitled, has precisely the same right to share in the provision made for those who fought their country’s battles as those better able, through friends and influence, to push their claims. Every pension that is granted under our present plan upon any other grounds than actual service, and injury or disease incurred in such service, and every instance of the many in which pensions are increased on other grounds

than the merits of the claim, work an injustice to the brave and crippled, but poor and friendless soldier, who is entirely neglected or who must be content with the smallest sum allowed under general laws.

“There are far too many neighborhoods in which are found glaring cases of inequality of treatment in the matter of pensions ; and they are largely due to a yielding in the Pension Bureau to importunity on the part of those, other than the pensioner, who are especially interested, or they arise from special acts passed for the benefit of individuals.

“The men who fought side by side should stand side by side when they participate in a grateful nation’s kind remembrance.

“Every consideration of fairness and justice to our ex-soldiers, and the protection of the patriotic instinct of our citizens from perversion and violation, point to the adoption of a pension system broad and comprehensive enough to cover every contingency, and which shall make unnecessary an objectionable volume of special legislation.

“As long as we adhere to the principle of granting pensions for service, and disability as the result of service, the allowance of pensions should be restricted to cases presenting these features.

“Every patriotic heart responds to a tender consideration for those who, having served their country long and well, are reduced to destitution

and dependence, not as an incident of their service, but with advancing age or through sickness or misfortune. We are all tempted by the contemplation of such a condition to supply relief, and are often impatient of the limitations of public duty. Yielding to no one in the desire to indulge this feeling of consideration, I cannot rid myself of the conviction that if these ex-soldiers are to be relieved, they and their cause are entitled to the benefit of an enactment, under which relief may be claimed as a right, and that such relief should be granted under the sanction of law, not in evasion of it; nor should such worthy objects of care, all equally entitled, be remitted to the unequal operation of sympathy, or the tender mercies of social and political influence, with their unjust discriminations.

"The discharged soldiers and sailors of the country are our fellow-citizens, and interested with us in the passage and faithful execution of wholesome laws. They cannot be swerved from their duty of citizenship by artful appeals to their spirit of brotherhood born of common peril and suffering, nor will they exact as a test of devotion to their welfare a willingness to neglect public duty in their behalf."

VETO OF THE DEPENDENT PENSION BILL.

Early in 1887 Congress passed the first general bill "since the close of the late civil war, permitting

a pension to the soldiers and sailors who served in that war upon the ground of service and present disability alone, and *in the entire absence of any injuries, received by the casualties or incidents of such service.*" It was, as the President expressed it, "an avowed departure from the principle thus far adhered to respecting Union soldiers, that the bounty of the Government in the way of pensions is generously bestowed when granted to those who in their military service, and in the line of military duty, have, to a greater or less extent, been disabled." In view of this fact; of the annual expenditure already of over \$75,000,000 a year for pensions; of nearly 400,000 now borne on the pension rolls, and a steady increase of the number* the further away the war period becomes,—the President vetoed the bill, and it did not become a law. The force of his reasons for disapproval was recognized by conservative men all over the country; and the most intelligent representatives of a sound public judgment gave hearty indorsement to

* In the New York *Nation* of February 3d, 1887, will be found the annual cost of the *European military establishments with the numbers which compose them*, as compared with our present and the proposed pension list, as follows:

	ANNUAL COST.	NUMBERS.
Great Britain,	\$102,477,010	209,480
Austria-Hungary,	51,307,602	286,423
Germany,	91,522,495	449,342
France,	126,366,086	523,283
U. S. present pension list,	75,000,000	365,783
As proposed,	147,000,000	865,783

such considerations as these, advanced in his message :

“I am of the opinion that it may fairly be contended that under the provisions of this section any soldier, whose faculties of mind or body have become impaired by accident, disease, or age, irrespective of his service in the army as a cause, and who by his labor only is left incapable of gaining the fair support he might with unimpaired powers have provided for himself, and who is not so well endowed with this world's goods as to live without work, may claim to participate in its bounty; that it is not required that he should be without property, but only that labor should be necessary to his support in some degree; nor is it required that he should be now receiving support from others.

“Believing this to be the proper interpretation of the bill, I cannot but remember that the soldiers of our civil war, in their pay and bounty, received such compensation for military service as has never been received by soldiers before, since mankind first went to war; that never before, on behalf of any soldiery, have so many and such generous laws been passed to relieve against the incidents of war; that statutes have been passed giving them a preference in all public employments; that the really needy and homeless Union soldiers of the Rebellion have been, to a large extent, provided for at soldiers’

homes, instituted and supported by the Government, where they are maintained together, free from the sense of degradation which attaches to the usual support of charity; and that never before in the history of the country has it been proposed to render Government aid toward the support of any of its soldiers based alone upon a military service so recent, and where age and circumstances appeared so little to demand such aid.

“Hitherto such relief has been granted to surviving soldiers few in number, venerable in age, after a long lapse of time since their military service, and as a parting benefaction tendered by a grateful people.

“I cannot believe that the vast peaceful army of Union soldiers, who, having contentedly resumed their places in the ordinary avocations of life, cherish as sacred the memory of patriotic service, or who, having been disabled by the casualties of war, justly regard the present pension-roll, on which appear their names, as a roll of honor, desire at this time and in the present exigency, to be confounded with those who through such a bill as this are willing to be objects of simple charity and to gain a place upon the pension-roll through alleged dependence.

“Recent personal observation and experience constrain me to refer to another result which will inevitably follow the passage of this bill. It is

sad but nevertheless true, that already in the matter of procuring pensions there exists a widespread disregard of truth and good faith, stimulated by those who as agents undertake to establish claims for pensions, heedlessly entered upon by the expectant beneficiary, and encouraged or at least not condemned by those unwilling to obstruct a neighbor's plans.

"In the execution of this proposed law under any interpretation, a wide field of inquiry would be opened for the establishment of facts largely within the knowledge of the claimants alone ; and there can be no doubt that the race after the pensions offered by this bill would not only stimulate weakness and pretended incapacity for labor, but put a further premium on dishonesty and mendacity.

"The effect of new invitations to apply for pensions, or of new advantages added to causes for pensions already existing, is sometimes startling.

"Thus in March, 1879, large arrearages of pensions were allowed to be added to all claims filed prior to July 1st, 1880. For the year from July 1st, 1879, to July 1st, 1880, there were filed 110,673 claims, though in the year immediately previous there were but 36,832 filed, and in the year following but 18,455.

"While cost should not be set against a patriotic duty or the recognition of a right, still, when

a measure proposed is based upon generosity or motives of charity, it is not amiss to meditate somewhat upon the expense which it involves. Experience has demonstrated, I believe, that all estimates concerning the probable future cost of a pension list are uncertain and unreliable, and always fall far below actual realization.

"The chairman of the House Committee on Pensions calculates that the number of pensioners under this bill would be 33,105, and the increased cost \$4,767,120; this is upon the theory that only those who are entirely unable to work would be its beneficiaries. Such was the principle of the Revolutionary pension law of 1818, much more clearly stated, it seems to me, than in this bill. When the law of 1818 was upon its passage in Congress the number of pensioners to be benefited thereby was thought to be 374; but the number of applicants under the act was 22,297, and the number of pensions actually allowed 20,485, costing, it is reported, for the first year, \$1,847,900, instead of \$40,000, the estimated expense for that period."

PRIVATE PENSION VETOES.

Upon such grounds as these the President, while signing far more private pension bills* than any of

* "The Democracy has held sacred and has far advanced the claims of the pensioner as the common debt of the common people, to be sacredly, honestly, and munificently paid. Never since the tender hand of peace

his predecessors, has felt impelled to puncture a vast number of frauds attempted in the name of charity, and to correct gross carelessness and improvidence on the part of Congress in passing them. For this he has been subject to malignant misrepresentation, and the abuse of rancorous partisans and of some narrow-minded people who think they are patriots simply because they were soldiers.

Few if any of these complainants have ever had the fairness or taken the trouble to actually read the vetoes or weigh their merits; and from such no honest judgment can be reasonably expected. Even the great body of people will, no doubt, be agreeably surprised to find that these much maligned vetoes rest on impregnable grounds; and Mr. Cleveland could not better afford to invite discussion of any phase of his Presidential policy than of the reasons which have induced his disapproval of many of the private pension jobs. They are thus summarized in the pamphlet from which previous extracts have been made :*

Some of these bills were vetoed because the

first bound up the wounds of rugged war; never since the awful fruit of battle cumbered the red earth; never since men died and women wept and children sorrowed, has greater munificence or more eager willingness been manifest than has been shown to the pensioners by the triumphant Democracy—which, God willing, shall for many years pour the nation's reviving streams by the stricken and desolate."—*General John C. Black, Commissioner of Pensions.*

* "The Vetoes of the President," pages 13, 14, 15, 16.

claims named in them had already been allowed, and the effect of permitting them to become laws would be to deprive the claimants of several months' pay. Some were disapproved because the claims were still pending in the Pension Office; some, because disability existed before, and some, because it was occasioned after service. Most of the bills disapproved were in respect of claims which had already been minutely, and, in many instances, frequently examined and rejected in the Pension Office; but in each instance, where time was afforded, the President made a careful examination for himself, being compelled to let, however, a large number become laws for want of time to make such examination, of itself a commentary on the objectionable manner in which this business is conducted. Among those vetoed we find a claim on behalf of the widow of a person who, sixteen years after the close of the war, fell backward from a ladder and fractured his skull; another, predicated upon the ground that the claimant's husband was deaf, and being drowned in crossing a river could not hear the ferryman call out that the boat was sinking, although, as the President says, "How he could have saved his life if he had heard the warning, is not stated;" another of an old gentleman of seventy-five, who claimed that he contracted chronic diarrhœa in the Blackhawk War. The President said: "I am inclined to think it would have been

a fortunate thing if, in this case, it could have been demonstrated that a man could thrive so well with a chronic diarrhœa for fifty-two years, as its existence in the case of this good old gentleman would prove. We should then, perhaps, have less of it in claims for pensions." The examination in that case showed that the applicant did not claim to have had diarrhœa for many years just preceding the application.

In another instance, the claim attributed "death from apoplexy to a wound in the knee received nineteen years before the apoplectic attack." In another case the man was discharged from the hospital with a certificate: "We do not believe him sick, or that he has been sick, but completely worthless. He is obese, and a malingerer to such an extent that he is almost an imbecile."

In another instance the beneficiary's husband died in a street fight from the blow of a fist; in another the son was killed in 1862, and his father was not aware of it until 1864. The boy had been in charge of an uncle, and afterward of other persons, ever since he was nine years old. The President says: "After the exhibition of heartlessness and abandonment on the part of a father, which is a prominent feature in this case, I should be sorry to be a party to a scheme permitting him to profit by the death of his patriotic son. The claimant relinquished the care of his son, and should be held to have relinquished all claim to

his assistance, and the benefit so indecently claimed, as the result of his death."

In another case of a fisticuff, the President says: "The Government ought not to be called upon to insure against the quarrelsome propensities of its individual soldiers, nor to compensate one who is worsted in a fight, or even in an unprovoked attack, when the cause of injury is in no way connected with or related to any requirement or incident of military service." In another case a widow applied for a pension and did not claim that the death resulted from military service. The President says: "This presents the question whether a gift in such a case is a proper disposition of money appropriated for the purpose of paying pensions. The passage of this law would, in my opinion, establish a precedent so far-reaching, and open the door to such a vast multitude of claims not on principle within our present pension laws, that I am constrained to disapprove the bill under consideration." In another instance the decedent was addicted to periodical sprees and died in the city lock-up, where he had been taken by an officer while on a drunken spree. In another case the death was from yellow fever in 1878. In another the claimant was enrolled as a substitute March 25th, 1865, when high bounties were paid, and remained in the army one month and seventeen days, during which time he had the measles. "Fifteen years after this bril

liant service and this terrific encounter with the measles, and on the 28th day of June, 1880, the claimant discovered that his attack of the measles had some relation to his army enrollment, and that this disease had settled in his eyes, also affecting his spinal column." Another case was this, as stated by the President: This man "was mustered into the service October 26th, 1861; he never did a day's service, so far as his name appears, and the muster-out roll of his company reports him as having deserted at Camp Cameron, Pennsylvania, November 14th, 1861. He visited his family about the first day of December, 1861, and was found December 30th, 1861, drowned in a canal about six miles from his home. Those who prosecute claims for pensions have grown very bold when cases of this description are presented for consideration." In another instance the Committee reported favorably, "in view of the long and faithful service and high character of the claimant." The President states the facts and continues: "Thus it quite plainly appears that this claimant spent most of his term of enlistment in desertion or in imprisonment as a punishment for that offense, and thus is exhibited 'the long and faithful service and the high character of the claimant,' mentioned as entitling him to consideration by the Committee who reported favorably upon this bill. I withhold my assent from this bill because if the facts before me, derived from

the army records and the statements of the claimant, are true, the allowance of this claim would, in my opinion, be a travesty upon our whole scheme of pensions and an insult to every decent veteran soldier."

Yet another case was this: The mother of the decedent, her husband, the father, having abandoned her, was allowed a pension as dependent mother from 1862 to 1884, when she died. The father applied in 1877, alleging the death of his wife, but the claim was rejected by the Pension Office because she was living, and after her death again rejected because of the abandonment. The President says: "The allegation in 1877 of the man who now poses as the aged and dependent father of a dead soldier, that the mother died in 1872, when at that time her claim was pending for pension largely based upon his abandonment; the affidavit of the man who testified that he saw her die in 1872; the effrontery of this unworthy father renewing his claim after the detection of his fraud and the actual death of the mother, and the allegation of the mother that she was a widow when in fact she was an abandoned wife, show the processes which enter into these claims for pensions, and the boldness with which plans are sometimes concocted to rob the Government by actually trafficking in death, and imposing upon the sacred sentiments of patriotism and national gratitude."

THE BATTLE-FLAG INCIDENT.

In the summer of 1887 occurred the popular sensation growing out of an alleged executive order for the return to the Confederates of the battle flags which had been captured from them by the Union forces during the late Civil War. Frothy party orators worked themselves and some misguided people into a state of intense excitement: virulent newspapers seized eagerly an opportunity to misrepresent the President and his party; while a few Governors, like Foraker, of Ohio, pranced to the front with most vehement declarations that they would resist all attempts to tear from the custody of the States the flags captured by their troops—a proceeding which had, of course, never been contemplated except in their own imaginations.

The simple facts of the matter were that for years past, with a growing feeling of friendliness between the North and South, and frequent exchange of visits on the part of military organizations that had faced each other with hostile front on the field, the return of captured battle flags had come into vogue. A number of these trophies in custody of the War Department at Washington had been allowed under Republican Administrations to be stowed away in a room in the sub-basement and were decaying rapidly when in 1882 they were transferred to the Ordnance

Museum. Adjutant-General Drum, noticing their increasing dilapidation, suggested that they be returned to the States from which the organizations carrying them had come. The President, without much reflection, assented to the idea, which, at most, was by no means so advanced a measure of reconciliation as many that had been urged by Sumner, Greeley, Lincoln, Grant, and other leading Republicans. As soon as it was recognized that the matter was to be made the subject of malignant representation the country over, the President quietly gave the following direction revoking the order of Adjutant-General Drum: "I have considered it with more care, and finding the return of the flags not authorized by existing law nor justified by any existing act, request nothing further be done except to inventory and take measures to preserve them."

Sufficient pretext, however, had been afforded such men as Fairchild, of Wisconsin; Foraker, of Ohio; Tuttle, of Iowa, and others of their stripe to insult the President; and when, shortly after the flag episode, it was announced that he had been invited to visit St. Louis on the occasion of the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic there, it was proclaimed by Tuttle and others that if Mr. Cleveland went he would be publicly insulted. This declaration of an offensive purpose injured only the authors of it, and General Sherman publicly rebuked it in a letter June

12th, in which he declared that the President was the Commander-in-chief of all the armies, free to go anywhere, and the idea of his being insulted by any true soldier was monstrous. The President himself in a letter of characteristic dignity declined to visit St. Louis on this occasion ; but the citizens of Missouri, shamed by the conduct of the Tuttlés, Fairchilds, and Forakers, urged him to make another opportunity for them to show their respect for his high office and himself. This invitation resulted in the tour and reception which have been previously described in these pages.

CHAPTER XVI.

DEMOCRATIC TARIFF REFORM POLICY—THE GREAT ISSUE OF 1888.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND and his Administration had thus, during the first two years and a half of his term, inaugurated every minor reform that had been promised in the platform of the Convention which had nominated him or in his own letters and speeches. But there was still a great work to be done. This was the lightening of the burden of that taxation which had been borne by the country since the close of the war. Republican Administrations had tied up the debt still remaining unpaid in long-time bonds, none of which were payable before the year 1892, and the most of which run at an exorbitant rate of interest until the year 1907. This had been done when there was nothing in the material condition of the country to demand the payment of four or four and a half per cent. interest on the debt about to be refunded.

For many years even the party in power had perceived that the time would come when, while the money must continue to flow into the Treasury in undiminished volume, it could not be taken

out for any of the legitimate objects of government. So that during all of the Presidential term filled by Chester A. Arthur his Secretaries of the Treasury had insisted that a wise and discreet reduction of the tariff duties was imperative. In 1883 a Tariff Commission was appointed, but its members turned out to be either interested manufacturers themselves or their willing dupes. The result was a report which, while it recommended a reduction on certain lines of manufactured goods and enlarged the free list on some articles of almost no importance, really proposed a considerable increase on other articles necessary for the life and comfort of every element of our population. Even this incongruous report was not accepted, but Congress proceeded to make from it a compromise scheme, the average reduction of which was less than four per cent., while the inequalities of classification and of tax were not removed. On some classes of goods these inequalities even became greater, experience soon proved, while the opportunities for fraud were increased. It was apparent after a trial of less than a year that the tariff must be revised on entirely different lines if taxes were to be reduced, and labor and capital relieved of the heavy load they had carried so long. The party in power, though mainly made up of men who were in favor of the theory called protection, *i. e.*, the laying of a tax on importations for the benefit of the domestic

manufacturer and the alleged interest of the laborer, with incidental reference to the revenue needed for the Government, was not wholly composed of persons professing allegiance to this school of political economy.

This had nominally been the dominant idea in the Whig party, of whose effects the Republican party became the legatee, but even its leaders never for a moment contemplated a tax on imports averaging nearly fifty per cent. on the entire list. A good proportion of the membership of the party had, however, been drawn from the young and independent men, who from the years 1850 to 1860, had not been satisfied with the policy of the then existing political parties. The majority of these men were not attached to the idea of protection which has since become so popular with its beneficiaries as to acquire a sort of sacredness. So that in 1857, when the further reduction of the revenue tariff of 1846 was under discussion in Congress, two-thirds of the Representatives, and nearly all the Senators from New England, most of whom were adherents of the Republican party, voted in favor of the bill. Among these, was Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, who had raised himself from the humblest surroundings and was to live to become Vice-President of the United States; in a long speech in which he expressed the sentiments of his colleague, Mr. Sumner, as well as his own, he said:

HENRY WILSON ON THE TARIFF IN 1857.

“The manufacturers, Mr. Chairman, make no war upon the wool-growers. They assume that the reduction of the duty on wool, or repeal of the duty altogether, will infuse vigor into that drooping interest, stimulate home production, and diminish the importation of foreign woolen manufacturers, and afford a steady and increasing demand for American wool. They believe this policy will be more beneficial to the wool-growers, to the agricultural interests, than the present policy. The manufacturers of woolen fabrics, many of them men of large experience and extensive knowledge, entertain these views, and they are sustained in these opinions by the experience of the great manufacturing nations of the Old World.

“Since the reductions of duties on raw materials in England, since wool was admitted free, her woolen manufactures have so increased, so prospered, that the production of native wool has increased more than 100 per cent. The experience of England, France, and Belgium demonstrates the wisdom of that policy which makes the raw material duty free. Let us profit by their example.

“If our manufactures are to increase, to keep pace with the population and the growing wants of our people; if we are to have the control of the markets of our own country; if we are to

meet with and compete with the manufacturers of England and other nations of Western Europe in the markets of the world, we must have our raw materials admitted duty free or at a mere nominal rate.

* * * * *

“We of New England believe that wool, especially the cheap wools, manila, hemp, flax, raw silk, lead, tin, brass, hides, linseed, and many other articles used in our manufactories can be admitted duty free, or for a mere nominal duty, without injuring to any extent any considerable interest of the country.”

Further on he said:

“In closing, Mr. Chairman, the remarks I have felt it my duty to submit to the Senate and the country, that the Commonwealth I represent on this floor—I say in part, for my colleague, Mr. Sumner, after an enforced absence of more than nine months, is here to-night to give his vote if he can raise his voice for the interest of his State—has a deep interest in the modification of the tariff of 1846 by this Congress. Her merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, and business men in all departments of a varied industry want action now before the Thirty-fourth Congress passes away.

“They are for the reduction of the revenue to the actual wants of an economical administration of the Government; for the depletion of the Treasury, now full with millions of hoarded gold;

for a free-list embracing articles of prime necessity we do not produce ; for mere nominal duties on articles which make up a large portion of our domestic industry, and for such an adjustment of the duties on the productions of other nations that come in direct competition with the product of American capital, labor, and skill as shall impose the least burdens on that capital, labor, and skill."

Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, then a member of the House, now the patriarch of the Senate, expressed the opinion that the proposed duty of 20 per cent. on cutlery, edged tools, etc., was ample in spite of the fact that he has now announced his opposition to a bill which makes a slight reduction in the present duty of 50 per cent. on the same class of goods!

JOHN SHERMAN IN 1867.

In 1867 John Sherman, of Ohio, in the course of a speech discussing the revenue question, said: "Every law imposing a duty on imported goods is necessarily a restraint on trade. It imposes a burden upon the purchase and sale of imported goods and tends to prevent their importation. The expression 'a free-trade tariff,' involves an absurdity." * * * "Every duty on imported merchandise gives to the domestic manufacturer an advantage equal to the duty, and to that extent

every tariff is a protective tariff." * * * "If you converse with intelligent men engaged in the business of manufacturing they will tell you that they are willing to compete with England, France, Germany, and all the countries of Europe at the old rates of duty. If you reduce their products to a specie basis, and put them upon the same footing they were on before the war, the present rates of duty would be too high. It would not be necessary for scarce any branch of industry to be protected to the extent of your present tariff law. They do not ask protection against the pauper labor of Europe, but they ask protection against the creation of your own laws."

In March, 1872, in a speech discussing this ever present question, Mr. Sherman said: "I have listened with patience, day by day, to the statements of gentlemen who are interested in our domestic productions. I am a firm believer in the general idea of protecting their industries, but I assure them, as I assure their representatives here, that if the present high rates of duty, unexampled in our country, and higher by nearly 50 per cent. than they were in 1861, are maintained on metallic and textile fabrics after we have repealed the very internal taxes which gave rise to them, and after we have substantially given them their raw materials free of duties, we shall have a feeling of dissatisfaction among other interests

in the country that will overthrow the whole system, and do greater harm than can possibly be done by a moderate reduction of the present rates of duty. And I am quite sure that intelligent men engaged in the production of various forms of textile and metallic fabrics feel as I do, that it is wiser and better to do what is just and right, to make a reduction on their products, at least to the extent of the reduction in this bill on the raw materials, rather than to invite a controversy in which I believe they will be in the wrong." * * *

"The public mind is not yet prepared to apply the key to a genuine revenue reform. A few years of further experience will convince the whole body of our people that a system of national taxes, which rests the whole burden of taxation on consumption, and not one cent on property or income, is intrinsically unjust. While the expenses of the National Government are largely caused by the protection of property, it is but right to require property to contribute to their payment. It will not do to say that each person consumes in proportion to his means. This is not true. Every one must see that the consumption of the rich does not bear the same relation to the consumption of the poor as the income of the one does to the wages of the other. As wealth accumulates this injustice in the fundamental basis of our system will be felt and forced upon the attention of Congress."

PRESIDENT ARTHUR'S VIEWS.

President Arthur, in his annual message, transmitted to Congress in December, 1882, used the following language: "I recommend an enlargement of the free list so as to include the numerous articles which yield inconsiderable revenue, a simplification of the complex and inconsistent schedule of duties upon certain manufactures, particularly cotton, iron, and steel, and a substantial reduction of duties on those articles and on sugar, molasses, silk, wool, and woollen goods."

Charles J. Folger, Secretary of the Treasury, in his report to President Arthur, made at the same time, said: "The classes of merchandise paying the largest amount of duties from customs are the following: Sugar and molasses, wool and manufactures from it, iron and steel and the manufactures from them, manufactures of silk, manufactures of cotton. A substantial reduction upon each of the class of articles named is recommended. And it is believed that the time has arrived when a reduction of duties on nearly all the articles in the tariff is demanded and is feasible."

In his annual report for 1884, Hugh McCulloch, President Arthur's last Secretary of the Treasury, concluded a long discussion of the revenue derived for customs duty with the following recommendations:—

"First—That the existing duties upon raw

material which are used in manufactures should be removed. This can be done in the interest of our foreign trade.

“Second—That the duties upon the articles used or consumed by those who are least able to bear the burden of taxation should be reduced. This also can be effected without prejudice to our export trade.”

The Republican tariff platform of 1884 declared :

“The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus. The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus.”

CLEVELAND ON THE TARIFF.

In his first annual message President Cleveland gave due attention to this question without conferring upon it that prominence it attained in late messages when the gravity of the case demanded more extended and more heroic treatment.

He said : “A due regard for the interests and prosperity of all the people demands that our finance shall be established upon such a sound and sensible basis as shall secure the safety and confidence of business interests and make the wages of labor sure and steady ; and that our system of revenue shall be so adjusted as to relieve the

people from unnecessary taxation, having a due regard to the interests of capital invested and of workingmen employed in American industries, and preventing the accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury to tempt extravagance and waste."

In his second annual message, transmitted to Congress in December, 1886, the President enlarged upon the issue which was then assuming the first importance. His views are fairly reflected in the following extracts:

"Good government, and especially the government of which every American citizen boasts, has for its objects the protection of every person within its care in the greatest liberty consistent with the good order of society, and his perfect security in the enjoyment of his earnings, with the least possible diminution for public needs. When more of the people's substance is exacted through the form of taxation than is necessary to meet the just obligations of the Government and the expense of its economical administration, such exaction becomes ruthless extortion and a violation of the fundamental principles of a free Government.

"Those who toil for daily wages are beginning to understand that capital, though sometimes vaunting its importance and clamoring for the protection and favor of the Government, is dull and sluggish, till, touched by the magical hand of labor, it springs into activity, furnishing an occa-

sion for Federal taxation and gaining the value which enables it to bear its burden. And the laboring man is thoughtfully inquiring whether in these circumstances, and considering the tribute he constantly pays into the public Treasury as he supplies his daily wants, he receives his fair share of advantages.

“There is also a suspicion abroad, that the surplus of our revenues indicates abnormal and exceptional business profits, which, under the system which produces such surplus, increase, without corresponding benefit to the people at large, the vast accumulations of a few among our citizens whose fortunes, rivaling the wealth of the most favored in anti-democratic nations, are not the natural growth of a steady, plain, and industrious republic.

“It has been the policy of the Government to collect the principal part of its revenues by a tax upon imports; and no change in this policy is desirable. But the present condition of affairs constrains our people to demand that by a revision of our revenue laws the receipts of the Government shall be reduced to the necessary expense of its economical administration; and this demand should be recognized and obeyed by the people’s representatives in the legislative branch of the Government.

“In readjusting the burdens of Federal taxation, a sound public policy requires that such of our

citizens as have built up large and important industries under present conditions should not be suddenly and to their injury, deprived of advantages to which they have adapted their business; but if the public good requires it, they should be content with such consideration as shall deal fairly and cautiously with their interests, while the just demand of the people for relief from needless taxation is honestly answered. A reasonable and timely submission to such a demand should certainly be possible without disastrous shock to any interest; and a cheerful concession sometimes averts abrupt and heedless action, often the outgrowth of impatience and delayed justice.

“Due regard should be also accorded, in any proposed readjustment, to the interests of American labor so far as they are involved. We congratulate ourselves that there is among us no laboring class, fixed within unyielding bounds and doomed under all conditions to the inexorable fate of daily toil. We recognize in labor a chief factor in the wealth of the Republic, and we treat those who have it in their keeping as citizens entitled to the most careful regard and thoughtful attention. This regard and attention should be awarded them, not only because labor is the capital of our workingmen, justly entitled to its share of Government favor, but for the further and not less important reason, that the laboring man, surrounded by his family in his humble home,

as a consumer is vitally interested in all that cheapens the cost of living and enables him to bring within his domestic circle additional comforts and advantages.

“ This relation of the workingman to the revenue laws of the country, and the manner in which it palpably influences the question of wages, should not be forgotten in the justifiable prominence given to the proper maintenance of the supply and protection of well-paid labor. And these considerations suggest such an arrangement of Government revenues as shall reduce the expense of living, while it does not curtail the opportunity for work nor reduce the compensation of American labor, and injuriously affect its condition and the dignified place it holds in the estimation of our people.

“ But our farmers and agriculturists—those who from the soil produce the things consumed by all—are perhaps more directly and plainly concerned than any other of our citizens in a just and careful system of Federal taxation. Those actually engaged in and more remotely connected with this kind of work number nearly one-half of our population. None labor harder or more continuously than they. No enactments limit their hours of toil, and no interposition of the Government enhances to any great extent the value of their products. And yet for many of the necessities and comforts of life, which the most scru-

pulous economy enables them to bring into their homes, and for their implements of husbandry, they are obliged to pay a price largely increased by an unnatural profit which, by the action of the Government, is given to the more favored manufacturer.

"I recommend that, keeping in view all these considerations, the increasing and unnecessary surplus of national income annually accumulating be released to the people by an amendment to our revenue laws which shall cheapen the price of the necessities of life and give freer entrance to such imported materials as by American labor may be manufactured into marketable commodities. Nothing can be accomplished, however, in the direction of this much-needed reform unless the subject is approached in a patriotic spirit of devotion to the interests of the entire country and with a willingness to yield something for the public good."

SOUNDING A BATTLE CRY.

But all that had gone before was the merest child's play compared with the courage, the magnificent audacity of statesmanship, which the President displayed in his third annual message, transmitted to the opening session of the Fiftieth Congress, in December, 1887. Rising to the occasion by casting all other issues aside, as unimportant in comparison with the reduction of revenues in

order to rid the country of a dangerous surplus, he devoted all his annual message to the consideration of this one question.* This document was brief to a degree which was comforting when the long, prosy messages usually sent to Congress by Presidents are considered. For once the people of the United States had a message they could read and did read. The effect was immediate. Public attention was focused upon this one great question as it had not been similarly directed to any issue since the absorbing days of the war. Young men not accustomed to such direct and pointed appeals were surprised, but their attention and their intelligence were aroused. Politicians who had been accustomed to discuss only the war and its cognate questions were amazed at the awful audacity of a President who did not so much as intimate anything about the various sections of the country. Some timid members of the President's own party were alarmed at his seeming willingness to intrust all his political eggs to one basket. The protected manufacturers who had fattened on a tariff were naturally alarmed. But the general feeling is

* It has not been thought necessary or desirable in such a book as this to attempt to make extracts from the President's annual message of 1887. Every word would be essential to a knowledge of it. A complete appreciation of the leading issues of the second campaign can only be gained by a thorough study of this document, and of the speeches made in the House in support of it.

the country was one of relief. Its politics had been drifting into a condition of torpidity, and the country, as was so well shown by the President, was plunging into the most serious of perils. Great satisfaction was expressed among men of every avocation and party at the feeling that something more than a mere commonplace struggle over the offices was now to begin. The message at once attracted the attention of the leaders of the Republican party, now in the minority and opposition. Mr. Blaine, ever eager to direct attention to himself, submitted himself to a newspaper interview in Paris. Senator Sherman took occasion to make such reply from his place on the floor of the Senate as showed that he had forgotten his conservative and progressive words of former days. The press discussed the question from every point of view, and in every circle, from one end of the country to the other, the President's message became the one subject for conversation and discussion.

The effect upon the lower House of Congress was no less important. The Committee on Ways and Means was selected with unusual care, and at once went to work to prepare a careful, conservative bill in line with the message. Such a bill was reported in due time, and the most extended and interesting discussion of the tariff issue heard in this country since the enactment of the Walker tariff was entered upon. The debate was opened





CHIEF-JUSTICE FULLER.

with a speech by Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, which was one of the clearest and most luminous arguments ever presented before the Congress of the United States. Other members of the majority of the Committee, Messrs. Scott, Breckenridge, Wilson, and Bynum, together with the Speaker, Mr. Carlisle, and Messrs. Cox, Russell, Buckalew, and many of the Democratic members, Mr. Fitch, of New York, Mr. Nelson, of Minnesota, Republicans, spoke in favor of the principle of the bill.

On the Republican side, the brunt of the debate was borne by Messrs. Kelley, McKinley, Reed, Burleigh, Boutelle, Butterworth, and Grosvenor. The only Democrat who arrayed himself against the bill was Mr. Randall, of Pennsylvania, whose speech was temperate in tone.

In the meantime, this general discussion of the principles of the message spread into the State Conventions of the Democratic party, then just meeting to select delegates to the National Convention called to meet at St. Louis on the fifth of June. Every such body in every State of the Union indorsed substantially the President's position, chose delegates in favor of his renomination, and in the majority of States commended the bill of the Ways and Means Committee to Democratic members of Congress. Even in Pennsylvania, which has been for nearly a century coddled

and cosseted on a protective tariff, until its people had come to look upon themselves as the beneficiaries of the Government, the party broke away from the narrow trammels which had bound it and kept it out of harmony with the organization in the rest of the country, and a strong platform was adopted, in which the action of the President was commended. The Temporary Chairman of the Convention, W. U. Hensel, and the Permanent Chairman, Ex-Senator William A. Wallace, both insisted upon the most outspoken utterance possible, and their advice was followed to the letter.

The credit for this condition of the public mind must be awarded to the President. Seeing clearly the danger, appreciating the necessity for some bold utterance from one who could speak as with authority, he had the courage to do what he deemed his duty. The Mills bill failed to become a law. The Republican majority in the Senate proved fatal to it, and President Cleveland was prevented from inaugurating the reign of those Democratic principles which he had so ably and vigorously advocated, and so earnestly maintained throughout his administration.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONVENTION OF 1888.

WHEN the National Democratic Convention met in Washington, in 1888, as usual in Presidential years, on February 22d, it began the work of the campaign under auspices more favorable than had appeared under an administration of its party for 56 years. The course of President Cleveland had been such as not only to command party favor, but the admiration and enthusiastic support of conservative men of every party. No other name was mentioned or thought of for the nomination as a candidate for President in any State or section of the Union. Never before in the history of national Conventions, except in 1832, when Andrew Jackson was the unanimous choice of the Democratic party for re-nomination, and in 1872, when Ulysses S. Grant was chosen as the unanimous nominee of the Republican party, had there been an instance wherein no other candidate was thought of or mentioned; and in the case of Grant's re-nomination the assurance of it drove many of the ablest Republican leaders and newspapers into open revolt, and created dissensions which were never healed.

The only contest before the Committee was in

reference to the place for holding the Convention, St. Louis being finally decided upon, while June 5th was selected as the date. Before this time arrived the Democratic Conventions of every State in the Union had unanimously demanded the re-nomination of President Cleveland, and had indorsed his position on the tariff as logical, safe, and Democratic.

On the day fixed for the opening of the Convention, St. Louis swarmed with delegates and alternates, appointed by the several States, while thousands of friends to the cause had made their way to the same centre of interest. The weather was pleasant, and a hearty welcome was accorded them by the hospitable inhabitants of the Queen City of the Mississippi.

The Convention was called to order at 12 o'clock of Tuesday, June 5th, by William H. Barnum, of Connecticut, Chairman of the National Committee. Stephen M. White, Lieutenant-Governor of California, then took his seat as temporary Chairman of the Convention, eloquently indicating the position of the party in his opening address. After the appointment of committees and the election of officers and secretaries, the Convention adjourned until 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning.

At the opening of the second day's session the name of Patrick A. Collins, Representative in Congress from Massachusetts, was reported as

President of the Convention, and he was escorted to his seat, from which he made an extended address, clearly laying down the principles of the Democratic party, maintaining that they had remained without change from the days of Jefferson, and eulogizing the administration of President Cleveland.

"We need not wait for time to do justice to the character and services of President Cleveland," were his closing words. "Honest, clear-sighted, patient, grounded in respect for law and justice; with a thorough grasp of principles and situations; with marvelous and conscientious industry; the very incarnation of firmness—he has nobly fulfilled the promise of his party, nobly met the expectations of his country, and written his name high on the scroll where future Americans will read the names of men who have been supremely useful to the Republic.

"Fellow-Democrats: This is but the initial meeting in a political campaign destined to be memorable. It will be a clashing of nearly even forces. Let no man here or elsewhere belittle or underestimate the strength or resources of the opposition. But great as they are, the old Democratic party, in conscious strength and perfect union, faces the issue fearlessly."

DANIEL DOUGHERTY NOMINATES CLEVELAND.

When all the necessary routine business had been transacted, it was proposed that, as the

Committee on Resolutions was not yet ready to report, the Convention should adjourn until evening. This motion was resisted and the rules were suspended in order that the roll of States might be called for naming candidates for President. Thereupon the State of Alabama, when called, surrendered its right to name a candidate to Daniel Dougherty, of New York, who presented the name of Grover Cleveland in a telling speech, from which we make the following extracts :

“He is the man for the people. His career illustrates the glory of our institutions. Eight years ago unknown, save in his own locality, he for the last four years has stood in the gaze of the world, discharging the most exalted duties that can be confided to a mortal. He has met and mastered every question as if from youth trained to statesmanship. The promises of his letter of acceptance and inaugural address have been fulfilled. His fidelity in the past inspires faith in the future. He is not a hope. He is a realization. . . .

“Sectional strife, as never before, is at an end, and 60 millions of freemen in the ties of brotherhood are prosperous and happy. These are the achievements of this administration. Under this illustrious leader we are ready to meet our political opponents in high and honorable debate, and stake our triumph on the intelligence, virtue, and patriotism of the people. Adhering to the Con

stitution, its every line and letter, ever remembering that powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people, by the authority of the Democracy of New York, and by the Democracy of the entire Union, I give you a name entwined with victory, I nominate Grover Cleveland, of New York."

Immediately upon the name of the President being pronounced there ensued a scene which baffles all attempts at description. The like of it is to be seen only at a National political convention, but such a fervent and prolonged outburst of enthusiasm as took place upon this occasion was without a precedent in American political history. A contemporary account of it says: "The delegates were standing on their chairs, waving their hats, handkerchiefs, and canes, and cheering like mad. Some of them opened their umbrellas and waved them. The uproar was deafening. Somebody pressed an electric button upon the platform and the band at the far end of the Convention struck up. Just what the air was nobody could distinguish from the reporters' gallery. The spectators in the galleries were more wildly enthusiastic than the occupants of the floor. The bronzed eagles were torn from their fastenings and hoisted to view by eager hands. The delegates upon the floor below were bombarded

with wads of morning newspapers. One of the Vice-Presidents crowned the bust of President Cleveland with a wreath of laurel. By means of an ingenious contrivance a life-size figure representing the President appeared upon the screen that covered the end of the hall and disappeared within the doors of the Capitol thereon depicted. The standards were snatched from their sockets, and the banners of the States and Territories were massed above the New York delegation. It was a demonstration that lasted twenty-five minutes, and then, as the din died away, the strains of The Star-Spangled Banner and Yankee Doodle filled the air."

After the enthusiasm had subsided, and favoring addresses had been made by several members of the Convention, the question of nominating Cleveland by acclamation was put to the Convention, and without a dissenting voice he was declared to be the candidate of the Democratic party for President of the United States. Exactly one hour and a quarter had been consumed in reaching this unanimous result, when the Convention adjourned until the following morning.

The meeting on Thursday opened with the presentation of the platform, which was offered as the unanimous agreement of the Committee. It strongly arraigned the policy of the Republican party, declaring that:

"The Republican party, controlling the Senate

and resisting in both Houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws, which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law and the fairness and the justice which are their right. Then the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretenses, enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets, capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended nor repealed. The Democratic party will continue with all the power confided to it the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, indorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people.

“The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense and abolish unnecessary taxation. Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not and need not be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises, by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operations. In the interests of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of

our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party should promote the advantage of such labor, by cheapening the cost of necessities of life in the home of every workingman, and at the same time securing to him steady and remunerative employment.

"Upon this question of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our national life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people."

The platform reported by the Committee was agreed to by a unanimous vote, after which the Convention proceeded to the roll-call of States for nominations for Vice-President. When California was reached, M. F. Tarpey presented the name of Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, in a lengthy speech, which aroused great enthusiasm. Isaac P. Gray, of Indiana, and Gen. John C. Black, of Illinois, were also nominated, Gen. Black's name being withdrawn at his request. On the vote being taken, Mr. Thurman received 687 votes; Mr. Gray, 104, and Gen. Black, 31. The nomination of Mr. Thurman was then made unanimous, amid long-continued applause, and the Convention adjourned *sine die*, after adopting a resolution of regret for the recent deaths of those former Democratic armor-bearers, Gen. W. S. Hancock, Samuel J. Tilden, Gen. George B. McClellan, and Horatio Seymour.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE 1888 ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND was formally notified of his nomination on the 26th of June, 1888, the Committee upon Notification, headed by Chairman Collins, calling upon him in the Executive Mansion, where they were received by the President, his family, and the members of the Cabinet. The formal letter of notification was read by Mr. Charles D. Jacob, of Kentucky, whereupon the President replied in an earnest address, of which we give the concluding and most significant portions :

“ Four years ago I knew that our Chief Executive office, if not carefully guarded, might drift little by little away from the people to whom it belonged and become a perversion of all it ought to be ; but I did not know how much its moorings had already been loosened. I knew four years ago how well devised were the principles of true Democracy for the successful operation of a government by the people and for the people ; but I did not know how absolutely necessary their application then was for the restoration to the people of their safety and prosperity. I knew then that abuses and extravagances had crept into the management of public affairs, but I did not know

their numerous forms nor the tenacity of their grasp. I knew then something of the bitterness of partisan obstruction, but I did not know how bitter, how reckless, and how shameless it could be. I knew, too, that the American people were patriotic and just, but I did not know how grandly they loved their country nor how noble and generous they were.

"I shall not dwell upon the acts and the policy of the administration now drawing to its close. Its record is open to every citizen in the land.

"And yet I will not be denied the privilege of asserting at this time that in the exercise of the functions of the high trust confided to me, I have yielded obedience only to the Constitution and the solemn obligation of my oath of office. I have done those things which, in the light of the understanding God has given me, seemed most conducive to the welfare of my countrymen and the promotion of good government.

"I would not if I could, for myself nor for you, avoid a single consequence of a fair interpretation of my course.

"It but remains for me to say to you, and through you to the Democracy of the nation, that I accept the nomination with which they have honored me, and that I will in due time signify such acceptance in the usual formal manner."

The formal letter of acceptance promised at the conclusion of his address was published on Sep-

tember 10th. It reiterated the strong views expressed in his message to Congress in the preceding December, in favor of tariff reduction, and in relation to the dangers likely to arise from a surplus in the Treasury.

The issue of tariff reform, thus forcibly presented, became that of the campaign, which, to a remarkable degree, was free from personalities and lying statements, and devoted to the real questions in controversy between the parties. The Republicans took up this tariff question as the basis of their arguments, a position in which they were squarely met by the Democrats; and alike on the rostrum and in the paper this became the absorbing topic of the canvass. Civil service reform, Southern representation, and the personal records of the candidates all sunk into insignificance before this great question, and the issue of free trade or protection was presented to the voting population of America as never before. For almost the first time in a Presidential canvass principles outweighed personalities, and the people found themselves face to face with the great questions of the day, instead of being regaled with new editions of the old campaign lies which had been so plentifully served up on former similar occasions.

THE MURCHISON LETTER.

In the midst of the canvass an event took place of absorbing interest and importance, which at-

tracted the attention not only of our own country, but of Great Britain, and in which President Cleveland handled an attempt to put himself and his party in a false position with a straightforward vigor which won him the approbation of both parties alike. The circumstance was one of international courtesy and obligation, not of party politics, and our citizens, without regard to party affiliation, sustained the President in his decided course.

The circumstance was the following: On October 24th a letter was published, purporting to be written by one Charles F. Murchison, of a locality in Southern California, and addressed to the British Minister at Washington, asking his advice in regard to the political situation. The writer stated that he was a naturalized citizen of the United States, of English birth, and that, despite his political affiliation with this country, he still looked upon England as his mother land. The information he sought was as to how he should vote, or which party policy he had best sustain, in consideration of the interests of his home country. He declared that he sought this information, not for himself alone, but that he might help many others who were situated like himself, and show them how best to act politically as British citizens of the United States. He went on with gross reflections in regard to the conduct of the United States concerning questions in controversy be-

tween that country and Great Britain, and directly and indirectly imputed insincerity to the United States in its actions in settlement of these questions.

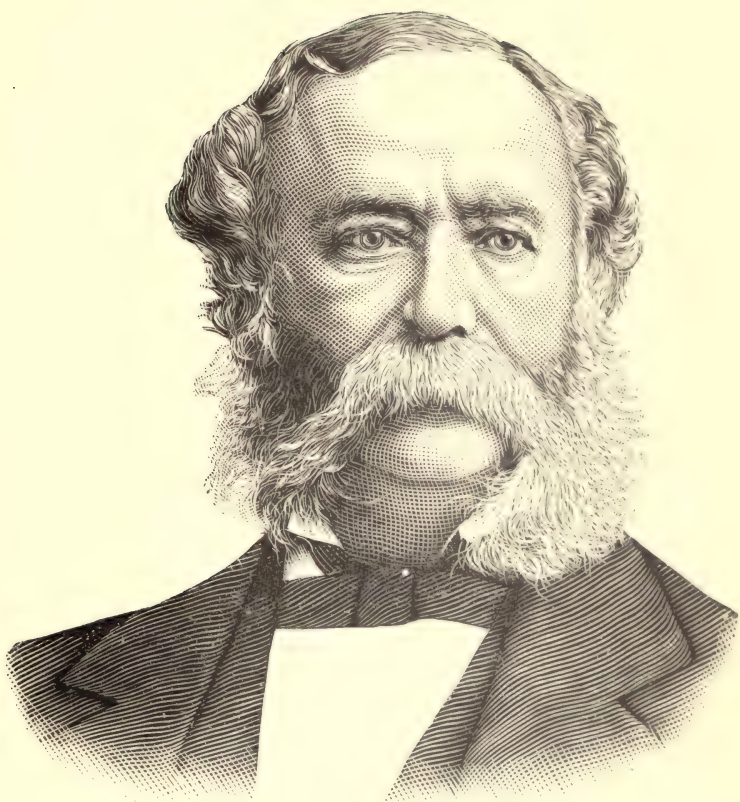
Into the trap set by this letter (if trap it was, as many suspected), Minister West fell, and answered at some length, stating that "any political party which openly favors the mother country at the present moment would lose popularity, and the party in power is fully aware of that fact." In respect to the "questions with Canada which have been unfortunately re-opened since the rejection of the (fisheries) treaty by the Republican majority in the Senate, and by the President, to which you allude, . . . allowances must be made for the political situation as regards the Presidential election."

This correspondence was published in full. It probably had been intended for publication as a campaign document, and it had its effect upon both parties. Although Minister West had spoken with some reserve, and had sought to avoid openly expressing preferences for either party, yet he evidently had, while representing a foreign country, taken it upon himself to give advice on political questions to American citizens, and the feeling of indignation which his letter aroused, was widespread.

This indignation was shared by President Cleveland. He regarded Minister West's reply

as an unwarrantable interference in the politics of this country, by giving political advice to American citizens, and he immediately notified the British Government of the action of its Minister. The government of Great Britain showed an inclination to pursue its usual policy of procrastination. No notice was taken of President Cleveland's protest. After waiting a reasonable time for action, he took a second step which somewhat astonished and baffled Great Britain. On October 30th, six days after the publication of the letter, he notified Minister West that his presence in Washington as the representative of Great Britain to this country was no longer agreeable to this government, and directed that his passports should be delivered to him.

This decisive action cut the gordian knot of the difficulty. The British lion now found a tongue, and denounced this action as marked by undue haste and a lack of international courtesy. The President, however, was resolute. He had given sufficient time for an answer in some form to his first communication, and as none came, he took the course demanded by the dignity of this country, and sent the British Minister home to take lessons for himself in international courtesy. The government across the waters could say nothing. President Cleveland's action was abundantly justified. But Great Britain's rulers kept up a show of irritation, and, as punishment to this upstart



SENATOR WADE HAMPTON.

nation, refused to send a Minister to the United States during the remainder of the Cleveland administration—a deprivation which this country bore with philosophical fortitude and equanimity.

The President's action in this matter, as we have said, was sustained by all classes and parties in this country. Whether the underlying purpose of the Murchison letter was to injure the Republican or the Democratic party, whether it was intended as a trap for the British Minister or was an honest seeking for information, all felt that an effort of a foreign Minister to give advice on a subject solely belonging to American interests, and calculated to affect the make-up of the American Government, was a gross breach of privilege, and had been dealt with in the only manner in which such an interference could be handled. As a campaign document the letter fell flat. American citizens did not ask to be instructed from England how to manage their government, or deposit their votes, and people and press alike sustained President Cleveland in his decisive action.

THE ELECTION CONTEST.

In the election campaign Cleveland took no active part. He was content that his record should speak for him. The people of the United States did not need to be told how he stood on the leading questions of the day, or what would be his policy if elected. They had had four years'

demonstration of that. He could safely rest upon his record as President, and let that speak for him. As the date of election drew near, it became evident that the contest would be a close one. The attention of both parties was directed to the doubtful States of New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Indiana, whither the speakers were sent, and strenuous efforts made to win votes. When the result was announced, it appeared that two of the States in question, New Jersey and Connecticut had gone for Cleveland ; but Indiana, Harrison's own State, and New York, with its large electoral vote, had gone Republican. The result was that Harrison had received 233 electoral votes, and Cleveland 168, and that the office had once more fallen to a Republican President. Yet had the voice of the people decided the contest, Grover Cleveland would have filled the Presidential chair for the four succeeding years. The total popular vote was 5,538,233 for Cleveland, and 5,440,216 for Harrison, Cleveland thus having a majority of 98,017. This is not the first time that such a result has happened, and a Republican President been seated when his Democratic opponent was the actual choice of the people. It is a state of affairs that cannot well be obviated while the existing system of voting for electors continues, and one which strongly demands a change in our election laws, which will do away with this antiquated and roundabout system, one which in

truth never had any rational warrant for its existence.

The result of the election was duly announced, as by law provided, and Congress assembled for that purpose, received the record of the electoral vote, and notified the country that Benjamin Harrison had been duly elected President of the United States, in accordance with the requirements of the Constitution, for the ensuing four years. A minority of the people had ousted Cleveland from the seat which he had filled with such credit to himself and his party, and restored the Republican rule.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE END OF THE CENTURY.

THE close of the Cleveland administration had a significance which calls for some consideration. It marked the close of the first century of the constitutional existence of the United States. This century began with George Washington in the Presidential office; it ended with Grover Cleveland. The two men, while strikingly unlike in history and character, had this resemblance, that they were both undoubtedly honest in their administration of the public affairs, and both inspired by the highest sentiments of patriotism and of duty in the high office which had been entrusted to them. The century begun and ended with a worthy occupant of the Executive position.

The fact above alluded to, of the approaching end of the century, was taken advantage of by President Cleveland in his last annual message to Congress. He recalled the interesting fact to the attention of the members, and took the opportunity to address to them and to the country at large words of warning and advice which are well worth repeating. We therefore copy at

some length from the lessons of political wisdom and earnest appeal to American citizens and lawmakers which are embodied in the opening portions of this admirable document. It is dated December 3d, 1888, and begins as follows:

“TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

“As you assemble for the discharge of the duties you have assumed as the representatives of a free and generous people, your meeting is marked by an interesting and impressive incident. With the expiration of the present session of the Congress, the first century of our constitutional existence as a nation will be completed.

“Our survival for one hundred years is not sufficient to assure us that we no longer have dangers to fear in the maintenance, with all its promised blessings, of a government founded upon the freedom of the people. The time rather admonishes us soberly to inquire whether in the past we have always closely kept in the path of safety, and whether we have before us a way plain and clear, which leads to happiness and perpetuity.

“When the experiment of our Government was undertaken, the chart adopted for our guidance was the Constitution. Departure from the lines there laid down is failure. It is only by a strict adherence to the direction they indicate, and by restraint within the limitations they fix, that we can furnish proof to the world of the

fitness of the American people for self-government.

“The equal and exact justice of which we boast as the underlying principle of our institutions should not be confined to the relations of our citizens to each other. The Government itself is under bond to the American people that in the exercise of its functions and powers it will deal with the body of our citizens in a manner scrupulously honest and fair and absolutely just. It is agreed that American citizenship shall be the only credential necessary to justify the claim of equality before the law, and that no condition in life shall give rise to discrimination in the treatment of the people by their Government.

“The citizen of our Republic in its early days rigidly insisted upon full compliance with the letter of this bond, and saw stretching out before him a clear field for individual endeavor. His tribute to the support of his Government was measured by the cost of its economical maintenance, and he was secure in the enjoyment of the remaining recompense of his steady and contented toil. In those days, the frugality of the people was stamped upon their Government, and was enforced by the free, thoughtful, and intelligent suffrage of the citizen. Combinations, monopolies, and aggregations of capital were either avoided or sternly regulated and restrained. The pomp and glitter of Governments less free

offered no temptation, and presented no delusion to the plain people, who, side by side, in friendly competition, wrought for the ennoblement and dignity of man, for the solution of the problem of free government, and for the achievement of the grand destiny awaiting the land which God had given them.

“A century has passed. Our cities are the abiding places of wealth and luxury; our manufactures yield fortunes never dreamed of by the fathers of the Republic; our business men are madly striving in the race for riches, and immense aggregations of capital outrun the imagination in the magnitude of their operations.

We view with pride and satisfaction the picture of our country's growth and prosperity, while only a closer scrutiny develops a sombre shading. Upon more careful inspection, we find the wealth and luxury of our cities mingled with poverty and wretchedness and unremunerative toil. A crowded and constantly increasing urban population suggests the impoverishment of rural sections and discontent with agricultural pursuits. The farmer's son, not satisfied with his father's simple and laborious life, joins the eager chase for easily-acquired wealth.

“We discover that the fortunes realized by our manufacturers are no longer solely the reward of sturdy industry and enlightened foresight, but that they result from the discriminating favor of

the Government, and are largely built upon undue exactions from the masses of our people. The gulf between employers and the employed is constantly widening, and classes are rapidly forming, one comprising the very rich and powerful, while in another are found the toiling poor.

“As we view the achievements of aggregated capital, we discover the existence of trusts, combinations, and monopolies, while the citizen is struggling far in the rear, or is trampled to death beneath an iron heel. Corporations, which should be the carefully restrained creatures of the law and the servants of the people, are fast becoming the people’s masters.

“Still congratulating ourselves upon the wealth and prosperity of our country, and complacently contemplating every incident of change inseparable from these conditions, it is our duty as patriotic citizens to inquire, at the present stage of our progress, how the bond of the Government made with the people has been kept and performed.

“Instead of limiting the tribute drawn from our citizens to the necessities of its economical administration, the Government persists in exacting from the substance of the people, millions which, unapplied and useless, lie dormant in the Treasury. This flagrant injustice, and this breach of faith and obligation, add to extortion the danger attending the diversion of the currency of the country from the legitimate channels of business.

“ Under the same laws by which these results are produced, the Government permits many millions more to be added to the cost of living of our people, and to be taken from our consumers, which unreasonably swell the profits of a small but powerful minority.

“ The people must still be taxed for the support of the Government under the operation of tariff laws. But to the extent that the means of our citizens are inordinately burdened beyond any useful public service, and for the benefit of a favored few, the Government, under pretense of an exercise of its taxing powers, enters gratuitously into a partnership with these favorites, to their advantage and to the injury of a vast majority of our people.

“ This is not equality before the law. . . .

“ The grievances of those not included within the circle of these beneficiaries, when fully realized, will surely arouse irritation and discontent. Our farmers, long-suffering and patient, struggling in the race of life with the hardest and most unremitting toil, will not fail to see, in spite of misrepresentations and misleading fallacies, that they are obliged to accept such prices for their products as are fixed in foreign markets where they compete with the farmers of the world; that their lands are declining in value while their debts increase, and that without compensatory favor, they are forced by the action of the Government

to pay for the benefit of others such enhanced prices for the things they need that the scanty returns of their labor fail to furnish their support, or leave no margin for accumulation.

“Our workingmen, enfranchised from all delusions, and no longer frightened by the cry that their wages are endangered by a just revision of our tariff laws, will reasonably demand, through such revision, steadier employment, cheaper means of living in their homes, freedom for themselves and their children from the doom of perpetual servitude, and an open door to their advancement beyond the limits of a laboring class. Others of our citizens, whose comfort and expenditure are measured by moderate salaries and fixed incomes, will insist upon the fairness and justice of cheapening the cost of necessities for themselves and their families. . . .

“Communism is a hateful thing, and a menace to peaceful and organized government. But the communism of combined wealth and capital, the outgrowth of everweening cupidity and selfishness, which insidiously undermines the justice and integrity of free institutions, is not less dangerous than the communism of oppressed poverty and toil, which, exasperated by injustice and discontent, attacks with wild disorder the citadel of rule.

“He mocks the people who proposes that the Government shall protect the rich, and that they

in turn will care for the laboring poor. Any intermeddling between the people and their Government, or the least delegation of the care and protection the Government owes to the humblest citizen in the land, makes the boast of free institutions a glittering delusion, and the pretended boon of American citizenship a shameless imposition."

The message goes on to point out the need of a just revision of our tariff laws, and a reduction of our revenue sufficient to prevent extravagance and a demoralizing appropriation of public money, and suggests the danger of fostering the idea that the Government exists as a charitable institution for the benefit of localities and individuals. It makes a strong objection to the intrusion of Federal legislation upon the domains of State and local legislation, and proceeds :

"The preservation of the partitions between proper subjects of Federal and local care and regulation is of such importance under the Constitution, which is the law of your very existence, that no consideration of expediency or sentiment should tempt us to enter upon doubtful ground. We have undertaken to discover and proclaim the richest blessings of a free government with the Constitution as our guide. Let us follow the way it points out. It will not mislead us. And surely no one who has taken upon himself the solemn obligation to support and preserve

the Constitution will find justification or solace for disloyalty in the excuse that he wandered and disobeyed in search of a better way to reach the public welfare than the Constitution offers.

"What has been said is deemed not inappropriate at a time when, from a century's height, we view the way already trodden by the American people, and attempt to discover their future path."

Such a presentation of the industrial condition of the American people, of the dangers facing them, of the oppression to which they have been subjected by organized wealth, and of the perils likely to attend an unlimited increase of individual capital, and the extravagance induced by an overflowing Treasury, had never before been offered by an American President for the consideration of thoughtful and far-seeing citizens, and its reproduction here seems appropriate, as President Cleveland's farewell message of wisdom to the intelligence of the country.

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS.

That this message should have any effect upon the deliberations of Congress was not to be expected. Congresses are rarely made up of advocates of national reform, or of men educated in the higher lessons of political economy, but ordinarily consist in large part of log-rolling politicians, purblind partisans, and men in whose eyes local interests are so large as to shut out the view of

the whole country; and in a small minority of men devoted to the best interests of the country and of mankind at large. Congress, therefore, in its ordinary fashion, shutting its ears to the words of wisdom which had been addressed to it, proceeded to debate questions of party politics and immediate expediency, leaving all larger questions to outwork themselves in God's good time and way.

It was the second session of the Fiftieth Congress, its term ending March 4th, 1889, at the conclusion, as the President had said, of the country's first century of existence. No subjects of vital importance came before it, and the relations of President and Congress were generally harmonious. Of the bills passed, the most important were those admitting to the Union the States of North and South Dakota, Washington, and Montana; inaugurating the Nicaragua Canal Company; amending the Interstate Commerce Law, and refunding to the States the direct tax levied by the Government in 1861. All these, with the exception of the last named, were promptly signed by the President. The last he returned with a veto. As this veto was signed March 2d, 1889, and was President Cleveland's final official act of importance, we give here part of the text of his message, showing his reasons for withholding his official sanction to the bill. The history of the bill was as follows :

On August 5th, 1861, Congress, feeling the necessity of meeting the rapidly-growing need of money, had passed an Act laying a direct tax upon the people of the country, but leaving the collection of it to the States, in case they were willing to undertake it. Of recent years it had been advanced as an axiom by many members of the Republican party that this money properly belonged to the States, and that it was the duty of the general Government to return it to them. Accordingly, in the session of Congress with which we are now concerned, a bill was passed ordering the refunding of this money to the several States, to be held in trust for its return to the citizens from whom it was originally collected.

This bill President Cleveland vetoed, giving the following reasons for his action: The tax, he said, had not been laid by Congress upon the States, but directly upon the people, and was an exercise of the constitutional right of the Government to tax its citizens, which called for no reversal of action. There was no more occasion for its return than for the return of any other tax. The States and Territories had been given the privilege of collecting their quota of the tax in their own way, or of offsetting it by claims of their own against the Government. Most of the States accepted this provision, collecting the money from individual citizens, as the Government itself would otherwise have done. The President did not think that this

was in any way a debt due by the Government to the States, as the refunding bill suggested. If due to anybody, it was to the citizens from whom collected, but it did not properly appear to be due to anybody.

“The expenditure,” continued the President, “cannot properly be advocated on the ground that the general welfare of the United States is thereby provided for or promoted. A sheer, bald gratuity, bestowed either upon States or individuals, based upon no other reason than supports the gift proposed in this bill, has never been claimed to be a provision for the general welfare. The Direct Tax law of 1861 is not even suspected of invalidity; there never was a tax levied that was more needed, and its justice cannot be questioned. Why, then, should it be returned?

“Nor have the States any claim to it as such. The citizens gave it; the States do not propose to search them out and return it to them. The existence of a surplus in the Treasury is no answer to these objections. It is still the people’s money, and better use can be found for it than the distribution of it upon the plan of the reimbursement of ancient taxation. . . .

“I am constrained upon the considerations here presented to withhold my assent from the bill herewith returned, because I believe it to be without constitutional warrant; because I am of the opinion that there exist no adequate reasons,

either in right or equity, for the return of the tax in said bill mentioned, and because I believe its execution would cause actual injustice and unfairness.

“GROVER CLEVELAND.

“Executive Mansion, March 2d, 1889.”

This veto killed the bill for the time being. It was passed over the veto in the Senate, but failed to be brought up in the House. It is well here to state, in conclusion of this subject, that this mode of getting rid of a Treasury surplus, checked by the action of President Cleveland, was accomplished in the next Congress, under a Republican administration. A similar bill was passed by the Senate during the first session of the Fifty-first Congress, and by the House on February 4th, 1891, during the second session, and became a law by the signature of President Harrison. As finally passed it provides that the money repaid to the States and Territories shall be held in trust for the benefit of the individuals from whom it was collected. Six years are allowed to file claims. Any portion of it not claimed by that time becomes the property of the State. In view of the ravages of death, and the many changes which have taken place within the past 30 years, the probability is that the claims will be few, and the States will fall heir to the bulk of this money.

This veto, as we have said, was the last important official act of President Cleveland. Two



WILLIAM L. WILSON.

(Permanent Chairman of Nominating Convention.)

days afterward, on March 4th, 1889, he surrendered the office of President and the executive mansion to his successor, and retired to private life, having made himself a name for unflinching honesty and a high sense of official responsibility during his Presidential career, which will live long in history, and place his record among that of the American Presidents most noted for probity and non-partisan public spirit.

CHAPTER XX.

IN PRIVATE LIFE.

IN the whole history of mankind there have been few stories as remarkable as that of Grover Cleveland. In 1880, a private citizen of an interior city, of no higher public importance than any other of the 50,000,000 inhabitants of the United States; in 1884, the President of the greatest republic the world has ever known, the elected ruler of the most prosperous nation upon the globe. It seemed almost the work of magic. No doubt Dame Fortune had a hand in it, but character had as much, and the admiration of the American people for unapproachable integrity in office had the most. It was his record for unflinching honesty and a high public spirit as Mayor of Buffalo that in two years made him Governor of New York, that stepping-stone to the Presidency of the United States. His integrity and ability in this office gave him the nomination for President, and the Democratic party carried him successfully into this exalted office, though his opponent was the most eminent statesman in the Republican ranks.

Four years had now passed, during which President Cleveland had shown such ability, in-

tegrity, and single-souled devotion to duty as to make him the favorite of his party, and their candidate for the two ensuing terms. Yet it was doubtless with a sense of relief that he resigned to his successor the cares and duties of office, and retired to private life, seeking rest from the incessant labors of his Presidential service.

On leaving Washington, however, the ex-President had no thought of pursuing an idle life. The instinct of work, the American delight in occupation, was too strong in him for that, and he, without loss of time, resumed the practice of his old profession. Seeking the city of New York, he opened a law office on Madison Avenue, and during the last four years the practice of law in the New York courts has been his field of labor.

As regards Mr. Cleveland's private means, it may be said that he saved no great sum out of his Presidential salary; but, on the other hand, he made fortunate investments, some of them by the advice of Mr. Whitney, so that he had a fortune of about \$200,000. His wife's wealth was considerably larger than this, but this Mr. Cleveland would never touch, his sole relation to it being advice in regard to investments. His wife's wealth, in his opinion, was her own, and it was his duty to pay his own way through the world.

He had hopes of adding considerably to his fortune through the profits of his legal practice,

which he entered upon with some enthusiasm. These hopes have not been realized. His professional business has not been large, partly from the fact that he has kept clear from connection with those great corporations which might have thrown very profitable business into his hands. He has received retainers from some of these associations, but has invariably declined them.

He conducted one important case, in his first year's practice, appearing in the Supreme Court of the United States. Here the judges received him with every manifestation of high consideration, but he lost the case. Since then his business has consisted largely in what are called "references." This is a species of office practice which is not very conspicuous or exhilarating, but it does not pay badly, and demands that steady attention to detail and patient labor which has distinguished Mr. Cleveland, alike in public and private life. It is said that his income from his profession has been from \$20,000 to \$25,000 a year, no more than enough to meet his family necessities in the style in which he is obliged to live.

During Mr. Cleveland's New York life he has taken pains to keep clear of entangling political alliances, and to avoid intimacy with men or connection with cliques which would be likely to injure him in public opinion. That he had this in view, however, is questionable. No doubt his

natural abhorrence of political jobbery or trickery has kept him from any such dubious connections. Of his various city intimates, who include a number of prominent men, the most prominent has been ex-Mayor Grace. No man has been seen more often at the house and in the office of Mr. Cleveland, and the friendship between the two men has been unbroken by a word of discord.

Cleveland has shown himself a companionable man, not much of a reader, but a good listener, one who knows how to hear and digest other men's opinions, and to take good advice from whatever quarter it may come. His political creed has been a simple one: to do what he thought to be right without regard to what men might say, but to use his utmost endeavors to widen his knowledge and improve his judgment as to the right and wrong of political questions.

When in the Presidential chair it was suggested to him that he ought to use his power to put an end to Governor Hill's influence in New York politics; to crush him, in short. He replied to the politician who had suggested it: "This crushing is likely to be an ugly business. I won't undertake it. A good many men have dug their graves in their efforts to crush others." Here we have a political manual in a nut-shell.

Mr. Cleveland, however, has not hesitated to express his opinion on political questions during his private life, and has always done so with that

pithy honesty which will cling to him through life. His motto has been, "What I think right," not "how many votes may it cost." During his four years' life as a lawyer, he has appeared at various times at public dinners and elsewhere, where he has not hesitated in the free expression of his opinion. Thus, at the Mercantile Club Dinner, at Boston, December 12th, 1889, he spoke in the most uncompromising terms in favor of Civil Service Reform and of the Australian secret ballot.

In regard to this system, he said that the official ballot is the "vital principle of the (ballot) reform." To permit the use of an unofficial ballot "would leave the door as wide open as ever to bribery and corruption," and an "official ballot only would sweep away to a very great extent, if not entirely, all excuse for campaign funds—that fruitful source of bribery and corruption, for if the State paid all the expenses of the election there would be little plea to levy assessments upon candidates, and contributions from interested outsiders."

The public utterance of Mr. Cleveland that has attracted most widespread attention, however, came in the form of a letter, in which he took open ground against the free coinage of silver. This letter will be allowed to speak for itself:

"E. ELLERY ANDERSON, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR.—I have this afternoon re-

ceived your note inviting me to attend to-morrow evening a meeting called for the purpose of voicing the opposition of the business men of our city to 'free coinage of silver in the United States.' I shall not be able to attend and address the meeting as you request, but I am glad that the business interests of New York are at last to be heard on the subject. It surely cannot be necessary for me to make a formal expression of my agreement with those who believe that the greatest perils would be invited by the adoption of the scheme embraced in the measure now pending in Congress for an unlimited coinage of silver at our mints.

"If we have developed an unexpected capacity for the assimilation of a largely increased volume of the currency, and even if we have demonstrated the usefulness of such an increase, these conditions fall far short of insuring us against disaster if in the present situation we enter upon the dangerous and reckless experiment of free, unlimited, and independent silver coinage.

"Yours very truly,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

"February 10th, 1891."

This letter caused no small sensation. It was commented upon in all quarters, some persons asserting that the ex-President had destroyed all hope of a renomination, though in the East his letter was applauded by men of all parties. It

was said that nothing else could have been expected from Mr. Cleveland. As to its effect, he has been re-nominated on a platform which expresses virtually similar views, and since the Convention the hopes of the free silver advocates have been dashed by a decisively adverse vote in Congress. The United States is safe from free silver coinage for a year to come.

We have said that Mr. Cleveland is a companionable man. He likes to have good fellows around him, and is utterly unassuming, unpretentious, and genial in his dealings with his associates. As regards his social habits, he has improved under the influence of his wife. His bachelor life at Buffalo was not calculated to teach him the manners of polished society, and Mrs. Cleveland has in some respects made another man of him. She has in New York arranged little dinner parties, where he met men and women of other than political influence, intercourse with whom has had a softening and broadening effect which he was not likely to gain in official life.

Among those intimate friends whom he owes to his wife's influence are the the editors of two of our great illustrated monthlies, men whose society he thoroughly enjoys, and whose conversation has opened to him a broad new field of life beyond the domain of politics.

To one of these men, Mr. Gilder, of *The Century*, he owes his introduction to a domain of

enjoyment which has been an unending source of delight to him. Mr. Cleveland's business has not been one that kept him tied to the office. He has had abundant leisure for recreation, and this recreation has largely taken the form of fishing, of which he is very fond. Formerly he looked upon the Adirondacks as the ideal place of repose; largely for the opportunities of trout fishing which it presented. But this woodland district has its drawbacks, largely in the form of black flies, and our ardent sportsman often felt that its misery outweighed its enjoyments.

He has reformed all that. The sea is now his chosen place of resort, and deep-sea fishing his delight. How this change came about is the substance of the story we have next to tell.

Joe Jefferson, the "Rip Van Winkle" of theatrical fame, had become possessed of a property on Buzzard's Bay, Massachusetts, where the adjoining waters offered excellent sea-bass fishing. Mr. Gilder, who had been touched with the same fever, invited Mr. Cleveland to take a summer's vacation in that breezy district. Here he was taken out to fish for sea-bass, and he found the sport so exhilarating and the sea breezes so invigorating that he became fascinated with the pursuit, and incontinently deserted the Adirondacks for this new world of sport.

Joe Jefferson, as we have said, was one of the club of Buzzard Bay fishermen. Mr. Cleveland

made his acquaintance, and soon began to enjoy Jefferson as much as he did the fishing. There was here no talk of politics, and no suggestion of business life. The conversation was confined to fishing chat, social subjects, and a free spice of that fund of anecdote, humorous and dramatic, which Jefferson has in his mental store-house, and which his visitor delighted to hear. Jefferson, moreover, was a good sportsman, a fact which endeared him the more to the sport-loving ex-President, and the two men have become intimate associates. Of other men whom he has met there may be named Edwin Booth, who shared this intimacy; and Mr. E. C. Benedict, the Wall Street broker, a gentleman who is an enthusiastic lover of the game of cribbage. As Cleveland enjoys the same game, the representatives from Wall Street and from the White House have spent many a night over the cribbage board, as intent on the fortunes of the game as though the fate of the nation or the money market depended upon it.

As regards Mr. Cleveland's abilities as a fisherman and his powers as a philosopher, Mr. Jefferson has recently made the following appreciative remarks :

"Great men are apt to be good fishermen. You can judge a man's characteristics better when you fish with him than under almost any other conditions. Mr. Cleveland is an eminent

philosopher and a profound thinker. He is a Sherman, consequently, of a high order, as eminent philosophers generally are. He fishes with a rod in a scientific manner, and possesses the art of cajoling a bass to his hook with almost absolute certainty.

“Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Gilder, of the *Century Magazine*, my son, and myself own a lake and three islands at Marsh Pee on Cape Cod. We named them in spirit of mild satire, after the name of the capes, which very frequently terminate in ‘it;’ for instance, Manomit, Cotonit, and Naquissit. The islands’ names are Getonit, Notinit, and Comoffit.

“Some of the fishing that I have seen Mr. Cleveland do in the vicinity of our camping grounds at Marsh Pee would sound so incredible that I do not wish to peril my reputation as a reliable relator of piscatorial anecdotes. During our great raids on the finny tribe, Mr. Cleveland observed that wide reticence that indicates an interest in the sport—complacency and peace and harmony with all mankind.”

Mr. Cleveland’s prowess as a fisherman is said to be remarkable. At the end of a troll line, or in landing a 20-pound striped bass, he displays all the patience and self-control of a statesman. His catch is at times phenomenal. Seventy-five blue fish in a day are recorded of him. Yet he can wait all day in patience for a bite, without a

word of complaint if none comes. His friends, in fact, speak of him as an ideal fisherman, and one who tells the absolute truth about his catch—an extraordinary evidence of virtue in a fisherman.

Mr. Cleveland is Mr. Jefferson's neighbor in another sense than as a visitor. He has acquired a property of his own on Buzzard's Bay, and "Gray Gables," as his residence is christened, is now his summer house.

The house in question is near the village of Bourne, a place "delightful to travel *from*." Externally it is not attractive. Trees are conspicuous by their absence, the house is bare and exposed, and its prevailing gray hue is not particularly beautiful. It is a quaintly-shaped mansion, abundant in gables, from which, and its dusty color, it derives its name.

Internally Gray Gables is said to be delightfully attractive. The rooms are finished in natural woods, each room having its own particular wood—oak, cherry, spruce, etc.—and the general effect is very agreeable. The leading architectural feature is the hall, which is of magnificent proportions. Its walls run up to the roof, a height of 18 or 20 feet, and are broken midway by an airy balcony, which communicates with the stairs, and from which access is gained to the chambers, which are tucked cozily away beneath the gables.

There are no carpets on the floors. Mats take their place. Bits of tapestry and needlework are

used freely as ornaments. Everywhere are easy seats, cosy nooks, soft rugs, cool rooms; and altogether, between the architect's taste in building and Mrs. Cleveland's genius in furnishing and adorning, Gray Gables constitutes as attractive a summer residence as even an ex-President could covet.

Mrs. Cleveland is not given to the piscatorial art. She rarely indulges in what is her husband's absorbing passion, though on one occasion in which she was induced to do so, the story goes that she greatly astonished Mr. Cleveland by her remarkable run of luck. Fish after fish came up at the end of her line, while he sat in gloomy silence without a nibble. He felt forced to congratulate his wife on her success, yet it was a rather awkward situation for a crack fisherman to find himself in. It was not until the day's sport was over that the truth came out. The fun-loving woman had bribed the man who prepared their lines to make hers specially attractive, and to fix Mr. Cleveland's so that the bass would have no inducement to bite. The result was a hearty laugh at the disappointed fisherman.

The story, in its way, has a certain affinity to that told by Plutarch, of Cleopatra and Mark Antony, in which Antony having ill-luck as an angler, hired divers to place fish on his hook. Cleopatra saw through this trick, and the next day turned the tables on him by hiring a diver to

place on his hook a salt fish from Pontus, laughing heartily at the discomfited angler as he drew this up.

There is another inmate of Gray Gables of whom we have not spoken, but who certainly deserves a paragraph. Baby Ruth, who came into this world in October, 1891, has not yet rounded her first year as a citizeness of this great republic, yet she has already gained as great a host of admirers as either of her parents. So far this admiration is wasted on this very young lady, but the time is coming in which she will know what it all means.

A few words are here in place in regard to the personal appearance and qualities of the man who is again presented as the candidate of the Democratic party. Mr. Cleveland is a little under six feet in height, but is so heavily built that he looks of less stature. His weight is about 250 pounds: his hair is scant, he wears a light mustache; the lines of his face are deeply graven, and his ordinary aspect is that of a grave and serious man, easily lighted by a gleam of humor or a kindly feeling. He generally dresses in a Prince Albert frock coat, but on informal occasions wears a gray business suit with cutaway or sack coat.

In conversation, he is quiet, dignified, and self-possessed, a good listener, but not without a positive, and when necessary, a dogmatic manner. In public speech he is easy, self-contained, fluent,

and impressive. His personal qualities include a strong power of will, inflexible courage, and unquestionable honesty, which are not unmixed with a keen sense of humor, a sly sarcasm, and the generous sympathies of a warm heart.

While in office he, while untiringly industrious himself, expected the same industry in his subordinates. He would stay up late at night, if necessary, to complete his tasks. He had an unusual ability in mastering the details of a case, and not infrequently a member of the Cabinet, after submitting to him a matter in general, would find next day that its chief was familiar with all its details, which he had spent part of the night in acquiring. In this way he got through with enormous quantities of business, without neglect of the numerous social duties which his position as head of the Government exacted of him.

With a high and even stern sense of official duty, his sympathies are easily aroused. In the circles where he is most intimately known are current many incidents testifying to the warmth of his generosity, his fidelity to his friends, and his sincere appreciation of the fireside virtues which alike adorn citizen and ruler.

Of the President's great-grandfather, who died in Benjamin Franklin's house in 1757, that illustrious man said:

"He is a gentleman easy and affable in his

conversation, open and sincere in his friendship, and above any species of meanness and dissimulation."

These qualities have not been lost in the family inheritance.



WM. M. SPRINGER.

RECORD OF THE CONVENTION.

Toward the close of the Convention it became evident to the many thousands anxiously awaiting the outcome in the convention city and throughout the country that Mr. Cleveland would be nominated on the first ballot. The ex-President himself felt confident all through the trying hours preceding the vote, that this would be the course of the Convention. The ballot resulted as follows:

For President,
GROVER CLEVELAND,
of New York.

For Vice President,
ADLAI E. STEVENSON
of Illinois.

The vote for President was:

Grover Cleveland, of New York.....	617 $\frac{1}{3}$
David B. Hill, of New York.....	115
Horace Boies, of Iowa.....	103
Arthur P. Gorman, of Maryland.....	36 $\frac{1}{2}$
A. E. Stevenson, of Illinois.....	16 $\frac{2}{3}$
John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky.....	14
William B. Morrison, of Illinois.....	2
James E. Campbell, of Ohio.....	2
Robert E. Pattison, of Pennsylvania.....	1
William B. Whitney, of New York... ..	1
William Russell, of Massachusetts.....	1

The vote for Vice President was:

Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois.....	402
Isaac P. Gray, of Indiana.....	343
Allen B. Morse, of Michigan.....	86
John L. Mitchell, of Wisconsin.....	45
Henry Watterson, of Kentucky.....	26
Bourke Cockran, of New York.....	5
Lambert Tree, of Illinois.....	1

The number of votes cast was 909 $\frac{1}{2}$; 607 were necessary to a choice.

Of the scattering votes Campbell got 2 from Alabama. Carlisle got 3 from Florida, 6 from Kentucky, 5 from Ohio. Total 14. Stevenson got 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ from North Carolina. Pattison got 1 from West Virginia. Russell got 1 from Massachusetts. Whitney got 1 from Maine.

RECORD OF THE CONVENTION.

The first and only ballot for President was as follows :

STATES.	Cleveland.	Hill.	Boies.	Gorman.	Scat'g.
Alabama.....	14	2	1	1	4
Arkansas.....	16	..	..	..	..
California.....	18	..	..	..	..
Colorado.....	..	3	5	..	..
Connecticut.....	12	..	..	..	..
Delaware.....	6	..	..	..	..
Florida.....	5	..	..	..	3
Georgia.....	17	5	..	4	..
Idaho.....	..	..	6	..	..
Illinois.....	48	..	..	..	..
Indiana.....	30	..	..	..	..
Iowa.....	..	..	26	..	..
Kansas.....	20	..	..	..	..
Kentucky.....	18	..	2	..	6
Louisiana.....	3	1	11	1	..
Maine.....	9	1	..	1	1
Maryland.....	6	..	..	9½	..
Massachusetts.....	24	4	1	..	1
Michigan.....	28	..	..	..	..
Minnesota.....	18	..	..	..	..
Mississippi.....	8	3	3	4	..
Missouri.....	34	..	..	..	..
Montana.....	..	..	6	..	..
Nebraska.....	15	..	..	1	..
Nevada.....	..	..	4	2	..
New Hampshire.....	8	..	..	..	..
New Jersey.....	20	..	..	..	..
New York.....	..	72	..	..	..
North Carolina.....	31½	1	..	..	17½
North Dakota.....	6	11	..	..	..
Ohio.....	14	6	16	5	5
Oregon.....	8	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	64	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island.....	8	..	..	..	..
South Carolina.....	2	3	13	..	..
South Dakota.....	7	..	1	..	..
Tennessee.....	24	..	..	..	..
Texas.....	23	1	6	..	..
Vermont.....	8	..	..	..	..
Virginia.....	12	11	..	1	..
Washington.....	8	..	..	..	..
West Virginia.....	7	1	..	3	1
Wisconsin.....	24	..	..	..	..
Wyoming.....	3	..	..	3	..
Alaska.....	2	..	..	..	..
Arizona.....	5	..	..	1	..
District of Columbia.....	2	..	..	..	..
New Mexico.....	4	1	1	..	..
Oklahoma.....	2	..	..	..	..
Utah.....	2	..	..	..	..
Indian Territory.....	2	..	..	..	..
Total.....	617½	115	103	36½	38½

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1892.

THE city which had been chosen by the National Committee for the meeting of the Democratic National Convention of 1892 was Chicago, the date June 21st. For the use of the Convention a large "Wigwam" had been constructed, a huge frame building about 300 feet long by 200 wide, with a seating capacity of nearly 20,000. The original plan contemplated a canvas roof, upheld by a single great pole in the centre of the building. Unluckily, shortly before the day fixed for the meeting of the Convention, Chicago was visited by one of those wild Western tornadoes which are no respectors of places or purposes, and the great canvas roof went off with a whirl. It was decided not to replace it, but to build a wooden roof, upheld by a forest of pillars from within. This work was barely finished when the opening day arrived, and proved to have two serious defects. The thick pillars interfered greatly with the view, while the hastily constructed roof failed to be water-proof, and as it rained frequently during the Convention, seats within the Wigwam often became the reverse of comfortable.

In this huge though leaky hall the delegates began to assemble at 11 o'clock in the morning of June 21st, and ere long the immense building was well filled with delegates and spectators.

After prayer by the Rev. John Ronso, the business of the Convention began in the escorting to the chair by Charles Jewett, Thomas Wilson, and Adlai E. Stevenson of William C. Owens, of Kentucky, who had been chosen as temporary chairman. After the applause which greeted his appearance had subsided, he opened the Convention with a brief speech, from which we quote the most significant passages :

"There are two great dangers which menace the Democratic party—one is external, the other internal; the first is the organized machinery of organized capital, supported by the whole power of the government; the second is the tendency among Democrats to make issues among themselves. Two needs, therefore, stand before us indispensable to success—unity and harmony. Of the one this chair and gavel stand representative; it remains for you to supply the other. . . .

"We can succeed; we must do more, we must deserve success. Above the wreck, if need be, of selfish combinations we must rear a temple to the plain people and build a shrine so broad that every lover of his kind may kneel. The burden must be lifted from the back of toil, and to that end it has a right to demand that whoever bears

our banner must lift it above the smoke of conflict and the din of action, that every Democrat of the Union may follow its lead in exultant and in irresistible combat. Let us not mistake. The gravity of the situation demands the broadest patriotism and every needful sacrifice. Our work but begins here. Under the suns of summer and the frosts of autumn we must carry it forward with unfaltering courage to a triumphant close."

The remaining business of the first session was the appointment of Committees on Credentials, Rules and Order of Business, Permanent Organization, and Resolutions, after which Mr. Cable, of Illinois, offered a resolution of sympathy with "that distinguished American, James G. Blaine, in the heavy affliction which has befallen him"—the death of his son. This resolution was received with applause and passed unanimously, the Convention then adjourning.

The second day's session began at 11.30 on Wednesday morning by a prayer from Rev. W. F. H. Henry, of Chicago. While waiting for reports from the committees the Convention was addressed by Senator Palmer, of Illinois, in a pleasant vein that put the audience in excellent humor. "Select a solid, firm Democrat for this contest, put the banner in his hand, and then rally about him," he concluded.

The Committee on Credentials now appeared, with a unanimous report; after which the Com-

mittee on Permanent Organization reported the name of William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, for Permanent Chairman, S. P. Sheerin, of Wisconsin, for Permanent Secretary, and a list of names for the other officials of the Convention. Mr. Wilson was escorted to the platform by a committee appointed for that purpose. After the applause which greeted his appearance had subsided, he arose and addressed the assembly.

Mr. Wilson began his speech by thanking the delegates for the honor they had done him. "This Convention," he went on to say, "has a high and patriotic work to perform. We owe much to our party; we owe much to our country. The mission of the Democratic party is to fight for the under dog. When that party is out of power we may be sure there is an under dog to fight for, and that the under dog is generally the American people. Never was this truth brought home to us more defiantly than by the recent convention at Minneapolis. We are not deceived as to the temper, we are not in doubt as to the purpose of our opponents. Having taxed us for years without excuse and without mercy they now propose to disarm us of further power to resist their exactions."

The Chairman next alluded to the question of tariff and taxation, the latter of which he designated as the question around which all the great battles of freedom have been fought. The Re-

publican idea of reciprocity he stigmatized as retaliation, and retaliation on our own people. The Democratic party, he added, is for the protection that protects and for reciprocity that reciprocates.

"It is not for me," he said in conclusion, "to attempt to foreshadow what your choice should or ought to be in the selection of your candidates. One thing only I venture to say. Whoever may be your chosen leader in this campaign no telegram will flash across the sea from the castle of absent tariff lords to congratulate him. But from the home of labor, from the fireside of the toiler, from the hearts of all who love justice and equity, will come up prayers for his success and recruits for the great Democratic host that must strike down the beast of sectionalism and the Moloch of monopoly before we can have ever again a people's government run by a people's faithful representatives."

The remaining business of the session was brief. The Committee on Resolutions was not yet ready to report. The report of the Committee on Rules was received, the unit rule of voting being retained; a gavel of zinc was presented to the Convention from the miners of Missouri; the names of the members of the National Committee were presented; and the Convention adjourned, to meet again at 5 o'clock that afternoon.

THE PLATFORM.

It was 5.35 P. M. when the duties of the Convention were resumed, by a prayer from Rev. Thomas Reed, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. At 6.24, Charles H. Jones, of Missouri, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, announced that the report of the committee was ready. At his request ex-Secretary Vilas read the report to the Convention. It opened as follows :

“The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson, and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of his successors in Democratic leadership, from Madison to Cleveland.”

It went on to denounce the centralizing tendency of the Government, with its menace to the reserved rights of the States, and spoke as follows of the “Force Bill :”

“We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections, to which the Republican party has committed itself, is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution, practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the Republic. It strikes at the North as well as the South, and injures the colored citizens even more than the whites. It means a horde of Dep-

uty Marshals at every polling place armed with Federal power. Returning Boards appointed and controlled by Federal authority, the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States, the subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party in power and the reviving of race antagonisms, now happily abated: of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all; a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican Senator as the 'most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate.' "

Such a policy, it declared, meant the perpetual dominance of an oligarchy of office-holders; it had been emphatically condemned in 1890, at the polls, yet the Republican party had reiterated its intention to support it.

In regard to the question of the tariff, the report declared that Government necessity was the only justification for taxation, and that any customs charge more than sufficient to cover the difference in cost of labor here and abroad was unjust and oppressive to workingmen. It denounced the McKinley bill as an atrocity of class legislation, and demanded a revision of the tariff law, stating that "in making reductions in taxation it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their health growth. . . . Many industries have come to rely upon legislation for healthy continuance, so that any changes of law

must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved."

The report proceeded to declare that the operation of the McKinley bill had been attended by reduction of wages, dullness in trade, and distress; that after thirty years of high tariff the homes and farms of the country were burdened with an immense load of debt; and stated that "We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the Sheriff."

It followed by denouncing the recent reciprocity scheme as a juggling sham, which pretended to establish closer trade relations with agricultural countries by prohibiting trade with the countries of the world which stood ready to take our entire surplus product, and to send us commodities of prime necessity.

It next declared that trusts and combinations were a result of prohibitive taxes, and that their evils could and should be controlled and removed by law. As regards the public lands, they had been given away freely by the Republican party to railroads and non-settlers. This policy had been reversed by the Democratic administration, which had reclaimed nearly 100,000,000 acres of such unwise donations. This policy was to be continued until every acre unlawfully held should be restored to the people.

On the subject of coinage, the report spoke with unhesitating freedom, saying:

“We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenceless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.”

The policy of Civil Service Reform was next advocated, and the system under which Federal office-holders can usurp control of party conventions was denounced, the Democratic party being pledged to the reform of all such abuses. The report went on to declare that the Democratic party was the only one that had given the coun-

try a foreign policy that compelled respect abroad and inspired confidence at home. It favored the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defence, and, while stating that this country had always been the refuge of the oppressed, and its people in sympathy with the oppressed of every land, opposed indiscriminate immigration, saying:

“ We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration or the importation of foreign workmen under contract to degrade American labor and lessen its wages, but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.”

Other planks of the platform favored just and liberal pensions to disabled Union soldiers, their widows and dependents ; the improvement of the Mississippi and other important waterways ; the early construction and protection against foreign control of the Nicaragua Canal ; the support by Congress of the World's Columbian Exposition ; the liberal support of education ; the admission of all Territories which have the necessary population and resources ; legislation to protect railway employees ; the enactment of laws to abolish

the sweating system, contract convict labor, and the employment in factories of children; and concluded in the following words:

“Upon this statement of principles and policies the Democratic party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party in order that there may be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring maintenance unimpaired of the institutions under which the republic has grown great and powerful.”

On the completion of the reading, the tariff plank of the platform was excepted to by Delegate Neal, of Ohio, who moved to substitute a resolution which denounced the McKinley bill as a fraud and a scheme of robbery, and declared that the Government had no right to impose a tax except for revenue. This motion called forth a lively debate, but it was finally carried by a large majority, the Convention establishing itself firmly on the policy of a tariff for revenue only. A free coinage plank was next proposed, but was voted down, and the platform as amended was adopted.

THE NOMINATIONS.

The next business before the Convention was the nomination of candidates for the Presidency. There was but little doubt by this time as to who would be the nominee, and when Governor

Abbott, of New Jersey, took the stand for the purpose of nominating Cleveland, the roar of applause that broke out could not be stilled for a full half-hour. It was with the greatest difficulty that he succeeded in completing his remarks on the subject, which ended in the following appreciative words :

“The thundering echoes of this Convention, announcing the nomination of Grover Cleveland, will not have died out over the hills and through the valleys of this land before you will hear and see all our leaders rallying to the support of our candidate. It is because he has crystallized into a living issue the great principle upon which this battle is to be fought out. If he did not create tariff reform he made it a Presidential issue. He vitalized it, and presented it to our party as the issue for which we ought to fight and continue to battle until upon it victory is assured. There are few men in his position who would have the courage to boldly make the issue, and present it so clearly and forcibly as he did in his great message of 1887.

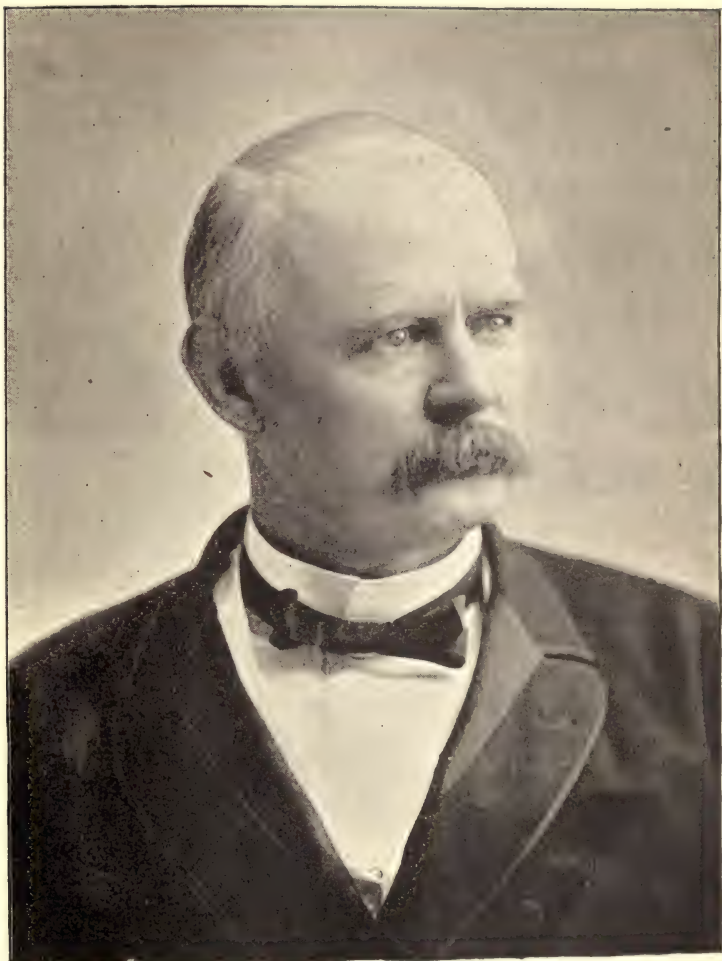
“I believe that his policy then was to force a national issue which would appeal to the judgment of the people. We must honor a man who is honest enough and bold enough under such circumstances, to proclaim that the success of the party upon principle is better than evasion or shirking of true national issues for temporary

success. The Democracy of New Jersey therefore presents to this Convention, in this the people's year, the nominee of the people, the plain, blunt, honest citizen, the idol of the Democratic masses—Grover Cleveland."

He was followed by W. C. De Witt, of New York, who nominated David B. Hill. Governor Boies, of Iowa, was nominated by John F. Duncombe. By the time the Convention was ready to ballot, more than ten hours had passed, and it was 3.30 A. M. when the result of the first ballot was announced. It was what had been anticipated. Cleveland had a clear majority over the necessary two-thirds vote, and on the motion of Mr. Upshur, of Maryland, seconded by Governor Flower, of New York, the nomination was made unanimous, and the Convention adjourned till 2 P. M., after a session that had lasted the entire night.

The final session was a brief one. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, was nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot, and the Convention adjourned *sine die*, having completed its work.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
OF
ADLAI E. STEVENSON,
ASSISTANT POST-MASTER GENERAL
AND
DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT OF
THE UNITED STATES, 1892.



HON. ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

CHAPTER I.

THE OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT.

IN the Federal Convention of "our wise ancestors," who framed that Constitution under which, with slight changes, the Government has been administered successfully for more than a century, the office of President, as it now exists, and the mode of filling it, were not created and adopted without serious variances of opinion and repeated changes of plan.

In the article on President and Vice-President, as finally adopted, it was provided that each elector could vote for two persons as his choice for President without expressing any preference or distinction. The failure of any candidate to receive a clear majority of all the votes cast, or a tie resulting between the highest two candidates, each with a majority—events not unlikely to occur in the manifold political divisions of that day—was provided for by the regulation that the House of Representatives, voting by States, should make choice between the two tied, or among the highest five of whom none had received a majority. The same article provided, however, that after the choice of President, the next highest electoral vote should designate the Vice-President; and

only in the event of a tie should the election to that office be referred to Congress, and then to the Senate, voting individually, and not to the popular branch nor to a vote by States.

To the office of Vice-President itself, created rather grudgingly, objection was made. "Such an officer as Vice-President," said Williamson, "is not wanted." Says Bancroft: "To make an excuse for his existence the Convention decreed that he should be President of the Senate." The peculiar powers, duties, and significance of it have always been more or less the subject of contention. John Adams, the first Vice-President, said to the Senate: "Gentlemen, I do not know whether the framers of the Constitution had in view the two Kings of Sparta, the two Consuls of Rome, or the two Suffetes of Carthage when they formed it—the one to have all the power while he held it, and the other to be nothing. Gentlemen, I feel great difficulty how to act. I am possessed of two separate powers—the one *in esse*, the other *in posse*. I am Vice-President. In this I am nothing, but I may be everything. But I am President also of the Senate. When the President comes into the Senate what shall I be? I wish, gentleman, to think what I shall be." Years ago the Senate took away from the Vice-President and assumed for itself the power to appoint the working committees of that body; and except to preside in the Senate, and cast the deciding vote in case of a tie

it has been left to the Vice-President only to await the contingency pointed out by that section of the Federal Constitution, which says, "In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide* for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected."

Under the original scheme of the Constitution as framed by its authors, John Adams being the second choice of a majority of the Electoral College for President, both at the first and second elections of Washington, became the Vice-President, although George Clinton, Republican, received 50 electoral votes in 1782, to 77 for Adams. In the sharply contested struggle of 1796, Thomas Jefferson came within two votes of the Presidency, and receiving more votes than the Federalist candidate for Vice-President, he was chosen to the second place in an administration of which the Chief was his political antagonist.

It was not until after the treachery of Aaron Burr, in 1801, forcing a tie vote between him and

* Congress has recently provided that in such cases the Secretary of State shall act as President pending the new election.

his Chief in the Electoral College, had opened the eyes of the people to the danger of their real choice being obstructed by the uncertain machinery of that cumbersome device, that such change was made in the plan of electing the President and Vice-President as tended to more directly secure the real expression of the popular will. By the Twelfth Amendment, proposed by Congress in 1803 and promptly ratified by the States, it was prescribed that henceforth electors should designate distinctly their one choice for President and for Vice-President; that "the person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice." By the same Amendment an oversight of the original instrument was corrected in the enactment that "no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States."

Burr, of course, failed of re-election to the Vice-Presidency; under Jefferson's second administration and in the first of Madison's terms George Clinton brought to the Vice-Presidency

an honored name, worth, and fit dignity. Elbridge Gerry, elected Vice-President to Madison, died suddenly in the second year of his term; Daniel D. Tompkins, who went into office and out of it with Monroe, in the uneventful era of good feeling, was a more conspicuous statesman before than after he became Vice-President; John C. Calhoun, previously distinguished as a Representative, and by brilliant Cabinet service, became Vice-President by the mutual consent of the fierce Adams and Jackson factions in the electoral struggle of 1824, but differed almost throughout his administration from President John Quincy Adams, and was an active party to the combination which defeated him.

Personal and political alienation and a revival of the old troubles between Monroe's War Secretary and the chief captain of the Seminole War soon produced a far more violent rupture between Jackson and Calhoun than had ever occurred between Adams and Calhoun, ensuing in the latter's resignation of the Vice-Presidency and his antagonism of Van Buren. Then followed Van Buren's own political ascendancy, first as Vice-President, then as President, to be succeeded by his defeat, even after Calhoun had become reconciled to his support.

Richard M. Johnson, the Van Buren candidate for Vice-President, failed of election in the Electoral College; he only received 147 electoral votes,

while his Chief had 170, the number necessary to a choice being 148.

The election being referred to the Senate, Johnson was chosen by 33 votes to 16 for Francis Granger, the highest Whig candidate.

During the first thirteen Presidential terms, covering the period from 1789 to 1841, none of the eight Presidents died, resigned, or had been impeached, and no one of the twelve persons who within that period had acted as Vice-Presidents had ever succeeded to the higher place. That experience came to the country early in the administration of Harrison, who died after a month in office, and John Tyler became his successor. His choice as a candidate on the Whig ticket of 1840 had been directed by a desire to secure the support of an element different from that which was rallied by Harrison's name; and Tyler's defection from Whig principles and policies, which might have been reasonably expected, called forth for him bitter denunciation from his late supporters and added the word "Tylerize" to our political nomenclature. John Tyler's estrangement from the party which made Harrison President ought to have taught the politicians that they had not, by the policy pursued in the selections they made for Vice-President, avoided the dangers which it had been sought to obviate by the constitutional amendment of 1803. But the lesson has not always been heeded. Since 1841 it hap-

pened, within a period no longer than the space of a generation, that three Vice-Presidents succeeded to vacancies caused by death; none of them united his party in support of his administration, nor attained by election the office to which he came by accident, though all aspired to it.

Fillmore was chosen Vice-President by the same electors who made Taylor President, but his signature to the Fugitive Slave Law, approved by a vote of 227 to 60 in the next National Convention of his party, lost him a renomination. William R. King's long career of usefulness and distinction was crowned with election to the Vice-Presidency, and a graceful grant by Congress gave him permission to take the oath of office in Cuba, where, on March 4th, 1853, he was sojourning for his health.

John C. Breckenridge's name was a fit one to be associated with any Democratic candidate and to be honored by election in 1856. He was the nominee of one wing of his party, in its fatal dissensions of 1860, for the highest place. Hamlin's defeat for renomination, in 1864, was due to a spirit of concession to the Southern Loyalists, and resulted in the Johnson succession to the murdered Lincoln, with all the train of political complications that followed. Colfax's defeat for renomination as Vice-President with Grant is ascribed to the hostility of the newspaper

correspondents, whose righteous wrath he had provoked. Mr. Wheeler "glided through the official routine" of Hayes' term to be submerged by the obscurity which settled upon the whole of that administration; while Arthur shared the fate of Fillmore—in seeing his policy almost unanimously indorsed by his party and himself rejected by that dominant faction which had chosen the head of the ticket in 1880, and completed it with a view to reconcile the disappointed elements of the Convention, having no thought to the remote contingency of the Presidential succession. Since John C. Calhoun's day no Vice-President has ever been re-elected, and no man who became President by succession has been subsequently elected to the office.

Mr. Hendricks, elected Vice-President in Mr. Cleveland's first term of office, died in office on March 4th, 1885. He was succeeded by the Hon. John Sherman as President of the Senate, and Acting Vice-President. Sherman was succeeded in 1889 by Hon. John J. Ingalls.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY DAYS AND BUSINESS LIFE.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON comes from that shrewd and sturdy Scotch-Irish stock which has added so much to the brain and brawn of our country. His father was born at Mecklenburg, N. C., a town famous for having issued the first Declaration of Independence in this country. This memorable document, proclaimed on May 20th, 1775, more than a year before the Fourth of July Declaration, is said to have been prepared and promulgated by the great-granduncle of the subject of our sketch. From Mecklenburg Mr. Stevenson's father made his way westward, and settled in Christian County, in southwestern Kentucky, where he became a farmer in a small way. Here his son Adlai was born on the 23d of October, 1835, and between boyish labors on the paternal farm, boyish pranks, and sports in that then thinly-settled country, and such schooling as could be had in the rude country school of that date and locality, passed his life until he reached the age of 15. He was then a well-grown and handsome lad, with a fair education, considering his limited opportunities, and with evidence of that ambition

and ability which were destined to bring him into his future prominence in our national councils.

In 1852, when the future legislator was in his 15th year, his father decided to try his fortunes in the then rapidly-growing State of Illinois, and removed to Bloomington, in that State, then a town of no great dimensions or importance, now a city of over 20,000 population. In Kentucky Mr. Stevenson had been a slaveholder to a small extent. He was a poor man, and the sale of his few slaves would have been of much importance to him in his new venture in life. Yet, setting aside questions of pecuniary profit for what seemed to him the demands of duty and human right, he gave freedom to his slaves, and with light pocket but satisfied conscience set out in search of a new home afar.

In those days the railroad had not penetrated to that region of the far West, and the emigrants had to make their northward way, with their slender store of household goods and treasures, by wagon. The journey, which now would be a matter of part of a day, then took three long weeks, young Stevenson driving one of the wagons. No doubt this weary trip was attended by its fair share of hardship and adventure, for the roads of that day must have been, in part, little more than blazed forest tracks, while the rude farm wagons were not insured against break-down accidents, nor the travelers against troubles by field and fell.

The family cavalcade reached Bloomington in the month of June, 1852. Here the elder Stevenson engaged in the milling business, while his son, feeling that the time had come for his life-work to commence, began work at once, at the not light labor of hauling logs. These were brought from a piece of woodland known as "Blooming Grove," a locality which now forms a large part of the city of Bloomington.

But the ambitious youth was not one to settle down to a life work in the useful but humble duty of hauling logs. His view of life looked forward to a goal in which *log-rolling* was likely to be still a favorite occupation, though not one in which he had any desire to take part. With an earnest desire to improve himself mentally, he worked early and late in summer, and in the winter taught public school, availing himself of his somewhat sparse Kentucky education to advance the educational interests of Illinois.

His ardent desire was to attend college, and to this his unflagging efforts were directed. Bloomington possessed an educational institution of some importance, the Wesleyan University of Illinois. Here, the ambitious youth entered himself as a student, and obtained his first acquaintance with the higher branches of study. His teaching brought him in an income of thirty dollars a month, with the privilege of boarding round among the patrons of the school, then the pre-

vailing fashion in frontier settlements, and one in which the poor schoolmaster often found lenten fare and rough accommodations, though usually a warm welcome to soften them.

It may be seen that young Stevenson's life was not passed on a bed of roses. His father was in moderate circumstances, and while in sympathy with his son's effort to obtain an education, was not able to give him personal aid. The world lay before him; he must work his own way through it. Wesleyan University, despite its high-sounding title, did not offer the opportunities for an advanced education which the aspiring youth desired. It was, moreover, a Methodist institution. His family were all Presbyterian, and he had been brought up in the Presbyterian Church. For this reason, he had fixed his desires on the famous Presbyterian institution known as Centre College, of Danville, Ky., for the completion of his education. With this in view, he saved all he could out of his slender income, and was enabled to inscribe his name on the roll of pupils of this well-known institution. He obtained board in the town at \$2.50 per week, all that his small store of money would admit of his paying, and went at his studies with an energy and determination to succeed which made small light of poverty and discouragement. Centre College then contained many students of future note. Among his classmates were: W. C. Breckenridge, John

Young Brown, Thomas D. Crittenden, the afterward Senators Blackburn and Davidson, and Governor McCreery, with other men destined to win their way to fame.

Of Mr. Stevenson's college life we have few particulars to relate. He joined the College Society of Phi Delta Theta—of which President Harrison is also a member—studied with ardent enthusiasm, and made himself a name as one of the most earnest and able students of the institution. At the completion of the last year of his attendance at college he was at the head of his class, and would, no doubt, have graduated with high honors after a year more of study, had not his college life been brought to a sudden termination. His graduating year would have been 1856, but he was called home in 1855, by the death of his father, and found himself unable to return. His father had died a poor man, leaving no property but the homestead, and it was necessary for the young student to end his college career at that point, and enter at once upon the practical duties of life.

He was now twenty years of age. Morally and intellectually alike, he had made his mark among his fellow-students. His habits had been exemplary; he did not smoke or drink, and as a student had been a remarkably hard worker. Of his college recreations, a principal portion had been the part he took in the political debating society

of the students, in which he gained his first practice in that exposition of Democratic principles by which he was to make his mark in after life.

While pursuing his college studies, he had occupied much of his spare time in reading law, being loaned books for that purpose by a lawyer friend he had made in Danville. The law, in fact, was the profession he had chosen in his own mind for his future career, and shortly after leaving college he entered the law office of Hon. Robert T. Williams, then a lawyer of some note in the Bloomington courts. His previous readings now stood him in good stead, and after a year of industrious study he was pronounced by his preceptor fitted for examination, and was admitted to the bar.

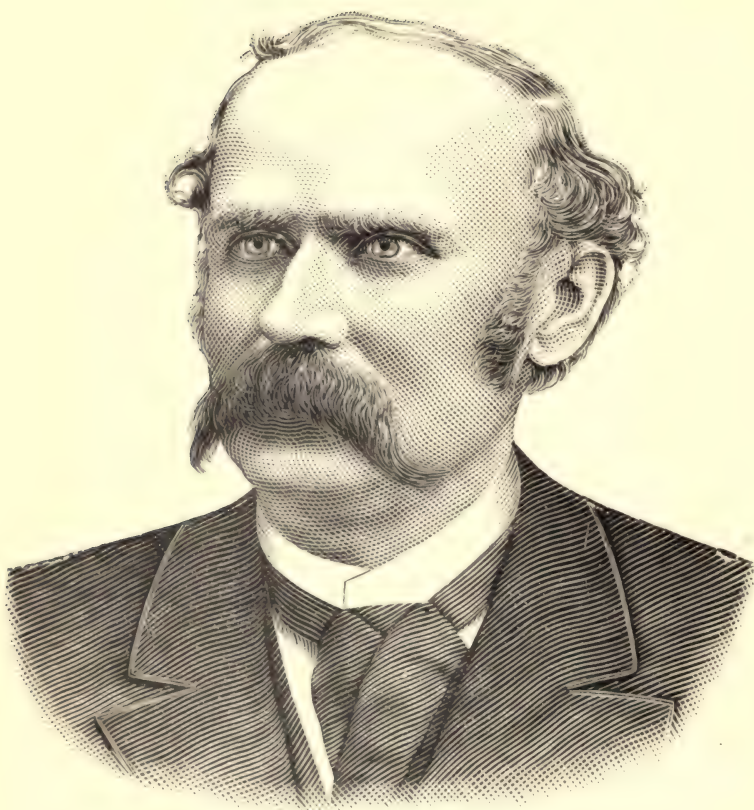
His admission took place on May 1st, 1858. He was now in his 23d year. Anxious to obtain a practice that would afford him the means of a livelihood, he looked around him for a promising opening for a young lawyer. While reading law he had supported himself by his old occupation of teaching school, but this was no longer available. He must now make his living by his profession. Mr. Williams advised him to go to Metamora and start there, giving him letters of introduction to friends of his own in that town. The youthful aspirant took this advice, hung out his shingle in that small country town, and after a month's weary waiting obtained his first case—a

suit before a justice of the peace. His opponent was John Clark, an experienced lawyer, but Stevenson won the case and pocketed his first fee—the small sum of five dollars. His success in this suit brought him some prestige, more cases came to him, and his first year's business netted him a profit of \$500.

The young lawyer was not long in making his ability felt, and through the influence of friends he received, in 1861, the appointment of Master in Chancery. In 1864 he was elected District Attorney for the 23d District of Illinois, consisting of three counties. During his occupancy of this office, he rode his circuit on horseback. He held the position for four years, but the pay was small, and at the end of that time he gave it up, and also his office in Metamora, returning to Bloomington. Here he formed a law partnership with his double cousin, James S. Ewing, and began practice in the court in which Abraham Lincoln had formerly practiced. Mr. Stevenson had become acquainted with Lincoln during his boyhood days, and admired him greatly. He was only sorry, as he afterward often said, that Lincoln was not a Democrat. Among the young lawyer's intimates at Metamora may be named Col. Robert Ingersoll, the famous anti-Bible controversialist and political orator. At that time Ingersoll was not pronounced in his religious views. If he held radical opinions in religion, he

kept them to himself. It is only necessary to say further in conclusion of our review of Mr. Stevenson's business life, that the law firm of Stevenson & Ewing greatly prospered and still exists, having one of the largest legal practices in central Illinois. It is said of it that it has never been a corporation firm, being on the opposite side in all corporation cases. Almost every legal battle in which Mr. Stevenson has been personally engaged has been against a corporation.





BENTON McMILLAN.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL CAREER.

WE have told the story of Mr. Stevenson's youthful days, his strenuous efforts to obtain an education, and his successful professional career, before entering upon the record of his political life, which is sufficiently important to demand separate treatment. As we have already said, his predilection toward a political career was manifested in his college life, in which he took an active part in the political debates of the students. His public career as a politician began in 1858, while he was still a law student in Mr. Williams's office. This was the year of the famous Lincoln and Douglas debate. Mr. Douglas had arranged to come to Bloomington to speak, and the Democratic citizens of that town chose Mr. Stevenson as a member of the committee appointed to receive him. Douglas took a fancy to the young man, and advised him to enter politics, telling him that he was rather a young man, but might hope yet to be President or Vice-President of the United States—a prediction which, unlike many prophecies of the same kind, bids fair to be fulfilled.

The young law student took the advice of the

veteran statesman. He was already a ready speaker, not particularly eloquent, but level-headed and argumentative, and with the faculty of generally flooring his opponent. Soon after Douglas left the town Stevenson took the stump on the side of the Democracy, and made a considerable number of speeches during the campaign. His next active political work was during the Presidential campaign of 1860, in which he made himself quite a reputation as a clear and logical speaker. In 1864 he was placed on the McClellan electoral ticket, and stumped the State for the Democratic candidate, making over one hundred speeches. He was equally active during the succeeding Presidential campaigns, being one of the principal Democratic speakers in 1868, and again in 1872.

With undiminished energy and enthusiasm he took the stump for Tilden in 1876, for Hancock in 1880, and for Cleveland in 1884, and in fact has been actively engaged as a speaker in every Presidential campaign since 1860.

His first nomination to a political position was made in 1874, when the People's party, an organization with no political affiliation, yet opposed to the extravagance of the existing Republican administration, made him its candidate for Congress. The district, comprising the five counties of McLean, De Witt, Logan, Tazewell, and Mason, was strongly Republican, giving a majority of

3,000 for that party. Mr. Stevenson declined the nomination. He was not eager for office, and particularly did not care to run on a hopeless ticket. About a week afterward the Democratic Committee of the District ratified the nomination of the People's party. The case still seemed hopeless, but Mr. Stevenson now accepted the nomination, and went in to win with all his well-known energy. The result was a surprise to both parties. The Republican majority was swept away and he was sent to Congress with a majority of 1,285 votes—a splendid attestation of his popularity as a citizen and ability as an orator.

As a member of the Forty-fourth Congress Mr. Stevenson made his mark in his strenuous opposition to the mode of settlement of the Tilden-Hayes electoral dispute—the Presidential steal, as it was named at the time. He made a number of able speeches on the question, of which, in illustration of his powers as an orator, we give the concluding portion of the last, in which he strongly arraigns the decision of the Electoral Commission as venial, and a dangerously partisan settlement of a vital political question.

“The worst effect of this decision, Mr. Speaker,” he said, “will be its lesson to the young men of our country. Hereafter old-fashioned honesty is at a discount, and villainy and fraud the legalized instruments of success. The fact may be conceded, the proof is overwhelming, that the honest

voice of States has been overthrown by outrage and fraud, and yet the chosen tribunal of the people has entered the solemn record that there is no remedy. O Judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts!

“Mr Speaker, my criticism of the decision of this tribunal rests upon its finding in the cases of Louisiana and Florida. Upon the Oregon case I have no criticism to offer. It is true, Mr. Speaker, we have now reached the final act in this great drama, and the record here made will pass into history. Time, the great healer, will bring a balm to those who feel sick at heart because of this wrong. But who can estimate the evils that may result to us and our children from this judgment. Fortunate, indeed, will it be for this country if our people lose not faith in popular institutions; fortunate if they abate not their confidence in the integrity of that high tribunal. For a century the bulwark of our liberty in all kinds of popular commotion and peril, the Supreme Court of the United States has been looked upon as the final arbitrator, its decrees heeded as the voice of God. How disastrous may be the result of decisions so manifestly partisan I will not now attempt to forecast. Let this vote be now taken and the curtain fall, that no hindrance or delay be interposed to the execution of the law but that of faithful adherence to its mandates. By honest efforts to revive the prostrate industries of the country, and

restore public confidence by obedience to the constituted authorities, we will show ourselves patriots rather than partisans in this hour of our country's misfortune."

It may be well at this point to allude to certain unfounded charges which have recently been brought against Mr. Stevenson, and the refutation of which forms a proper portion of his history. It has been claimed that he was, at the outbreak of the war, a leading member of the disloyal association known as the Knights of the Golden Circle, and that all his sympathies were with the South. This charge is absolutely without foundation. Mr. Stevenson says in regard to it: "I never had any sympathy with the Knights of the Golden Circle. At the time that organization was said to exist, I did not know that it existed. My heart sympathies were with the Union cause."

What he here says was abundantly proved by his acts. Home duties at the time prevented his going personally to the war, but he did his utmost in aid of the raising of troops. We have the testimony of an Illinois colonel, who raised two companies of men in the vicinity of Bloomington that Mr. Stevenson was his right hand in the work. He went about the county with him, making speeches in favor of the cause, and using every effort to gain recruits. In further attestation of what we have here said, we may advert to a eulogy on Stephen A. Douglas, shortly after the

death of the Illinois champion of Democracy, in 1861. This address is filled with Union sentiments. Mr. Stevenson quotes largely, and approvingly, from Mr. Douglas's fervid speeches, in favor of the North, and indorses the strongly Unionistic remarks of the deceased statesman, with an earnestness that admits of but one interpretation, viz., that Adlai E. Stevenson was heart and soul in favor of the preservation of the Union.

In further evidence of this, we may offer a very brief quotation from one of his speeches on the pensioning of our veterans.

"I trust that neither this Congress, nor any that may come after it, may pursue other than the most generous policy toward the defenders of our Republic. To provide for them when disabled by wounds or disease, and for their families when dependent, is a sacred duty, an obligation imperative upon the government. It should be our policy so clearly defined that all men may read, that he who perils life in the defense of this government is henceforth under its guardianship."

We need say no more. This weak campaign lie has been scotched and killed, and Mr. Stevenson's abiding loyalty to the Union is beyond the shadow of a doubt.

In 1876 Mr. Stevenson was renominated for Congress by the Democratic party, the nomination being now ratified by the People's and Independent parties. It was, however, a Presidential

year, and he was defeated at the polls, but only by 200 votes, he running far ahead of his ticket. In 1878 the nomination was again tendered him. He declined it, but so great a pressure was brought to bear on him by his friends that he was finally induced to accept. It was, as before, ratified by the People's and Independent parties. The election that followed was hotly contested, but Stevenson won by a majority of 1,800, a striking evidence of his popularity in view of the great Republican strength of the District. He ran again in 1880, but this being a Presidential year he was defeated, yet only by the small majority of 242 votes.

After 1880 the State was redistricted by a Republican Legislature, and Stevenson placed in a district of which every county was Republican. He ran for Congress again in 1882, and was defeated by 350 votes. This was his last effort. In the succeeding Congressional election his old opponent was returned by over 2,700 majority, another interesting evidence that Stevenson's personal popularity had gained him a large support from the other party.

In 1884 Mr. Stevenson was one of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, and afterward was a member of the committee appointed to wait upon Cleveland and Hendricks and notify them of their nomination. Mr. Cleveland was then at the State House in Albany, and

there first met the two men who were to be associated on the Democratic ticket of 1892.

The new President's appreciation of the valuable services of the Illinois delegate was soon shown. In July, 1885, the First Assistant Postmaster-General, Malcolm Hay, was obliged to resign, his health having failed under the laborious nature of his duties. Mr. Stevenson was appointed to succeed him, his appointment dating from July 7th, 1885. The task before the new official was no light one; the bulk of the work of the office fell upon him, but he proved fully competent to its performance, and by his geniality and justice made himself friends and acquaintances in almost every town and hamlet in the United States, his duties bringing him directly into contact with an army of postmasters. No man was more popular in Washington. His distinguishing characteristic was his dislike of red tape, and absence of formality marked his performance of his official duties. The latchstring was always out in his office. No repellant doorkeeper stood between him and the public; no guards were necessary to herald a visitor; every man who had business with the office had simply to walk in, and no one failed to meet with a cheerful reception, and a polite attention to his remarks. He often had interviews with more than a hundred men daily; and even after 2 o'clock, the official hour for closing the doors to visitors, Mr. Stevenson was readily accessible. In

fact, he could be seen at any time while at the office, and, though doubtless often pestered with bores, was invariably kind and considerate.

He was not a delegate to the 1888 nominating Convention, nor did he attend its sessions, but his influence was thrown in favor of making Mr. Cleveland the nominee, and during the campaign he worked night and day for the man of his choice, his whole soul being for Cleveland. The number of his speeches cannot be given. Ten were made in New York and an uncounted number in Illinois and other States. After the election of President Harrison, and the appointment of his Cabinet, it fell to the lot of Mr. Stevenson, in the absence of Don M. Dickinson, the Postmaster-General, to turn over the office to John Wanamaker, the newly-appointed Postmaster-General. This he did, and to his own inconvenience, consented to retain the position of First Assistant for 10 or 12 days, until his successor, John M. Clarkson, was appointed.

Mr. Stevenson then returned home and resumed the practice of his profession, in which he has since that period been actively engaged.

In the Democratic National Convention of 1892, Mr. Stevenson took a prominent part, as head of the Illinois delegation, in which position he cast the vote of the State as a unit in favor of the nomination of Grover Cleveland. When the question of nominating a candidate for Vice-President

came before the Convention, the Hon. Isaac P. Gray, of Indiana, was much the most prominent name. But when Illinois was reached in the roll-call of States, Nicholas E. Worthington rose, and advancing to the platform, delivered the following brief but effective speech :

“MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-DELEGATES:—Illinois has presented no Presidential candidate to this Convention. It has within its borders more than one favorite son, whom it would have delighted to honor, and who are worthy of all the political honors that could be conferred upon them. But here in this great city of Chicago, in this great Commonwealth of Illinois, bordering upon the Lake and the Mississippi, in the centre of this great Republic, the Democracy, catching the vibrations of the ground swell that came from the South, and the East, and the West, put aside its favorite sons, for the time buried its State pride, and echoing back to Texas, Connecticut, and California, with 48 votes shouted the name of Grover Cleveland.

“But for the Vice-Presidency, for the second highest place in the gift of the people, it has a candidate so fully equipped by nature and education that it feels that it would be a political fault to fail to urge his name for nomination before you. I stand here, then, gentlemen, to name as a candidate for that position a man that is known by every woman and child and voter that ever licked

a postage-stamp in every village and hamlet in the land. [Applause.] A big-bodied, big-hearted, big-brained man; a man of commanding presence, of dignified mien; a man whose courtesy in his every-day manners is rarely equalled and never excelled; a man who in the administration of his duties in the last Democratic administration was the beau ideal of an honest, honorable, useful, and efficient Democratic office-holder. I refer to the Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson. Like his great leader, who bears your banner, he believes that public office is a public trust, but he believes, also, that the Democrats are the best trustees of this public trust.

“Nor can the pride of office make him proud or haughty. I appeal to every Senator and Congressman who is here, if ever he found the haughtiness of office, the chilling indifference of a little brief authority in the atmosphere of the room of the Assistant Postmaster-General during Cleveland’s administration. . . . Will you help us give the 24 electoral votes to Grover Cleveland by voting for the man whose name I now present—a man who does not have to get a certificate from a labor organization to prove that he is a friend of the people—a man that we all love—Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois.”

This address was frequently interrupted by applause, and ended in an outburst of cheers which showed that the right vein had been touched, and

that Stevenson was the man for the people. But the true test came when the voting began, and the result showed that Stevenson had received 402 votes to 343 for Gray, with 157 for other candidates. Hardly had the vote been announced before Iowa changed the vote of its delegation from Watterson to Stevenson. This started a stampede. With rapid speed Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oregon, Tennessee, and Texas changed their votes to Stevenson, and then, on the motion of Mr. Cole, of Ohio, the nomination of the Illinois candidate was made by acclamation, and Adlai E. Stevenson wheeled into line as second on the Democratic Presidential ticket of 1892.

CHAPTER IV.

DOMESTIC LIFE.

WE shall conclude with what is an important element in every man's story—the record of his courtship and marriage (in case he has avoided the gulf of old bachelorhood), and of his life at home, and as a member of society. Mr. Stevenson was fortunate in obtaining for wife the daughter of his old college president. During his student days at Danville he made the acquaintance of Miss Letitia Green, the daughter of Dr. L. W. Green, President of Centre College, and a charming example of Kentucky's lovely daughters. Many meetings took place between them, and though no word of love was spoken, their affection existed from that time.

Dr. Green died in 1863, and his daughter Letitia came to live with her married sister, Mrs. Matthew Scott, at Chenoa, Illinois. This place lay in the line of Mr. Stevenson's route as district attorney. He had kept up the acquaintance by letter, and now called frequently on the young lady during his horseback journeys about the district. These days of courtship had their natural result in a proposal and acceptance, and on December 20th, 1866, his marriage to Miss Green

took place at Mrs. Scott's house, the ceremony being performed by the Rev. Dr. Craig, of Chicago.

The happy couple made their way to Bloomington, where they received an enthusiastic welcome. From there they made a wedding journey to Kentucky, visiting all the old scenes and most of the old friends, who now could be found in almost every town of that State. They were a handsome couple, Mrs. Stevenson being a most favorable example of Western beauty and refinement, while Kentucky never raised a man of more presentable personal appearance than her husband, or one with more true manliness of soul and more devoted public spirit.

The home of the Stevensons, within which they have lived for the past six or eight years, is a modest two-story brick residence on the principal street of Bloomington. It has a porch and a broad piazza along half its front and extending back the full length of both its sides, while it stands back from the street, with a sylvan surrounding of trees and bushes. On both sides are broad, open lawns, and in front extends Franklin Square, the well-wooded public breathing place of Bloomington. The house has a hallway extending through its centre, is modestly but comfortably furnished, and the taste of the inmates is shown in a good display of books and pictures.

The Stevenson homestead is made attractive

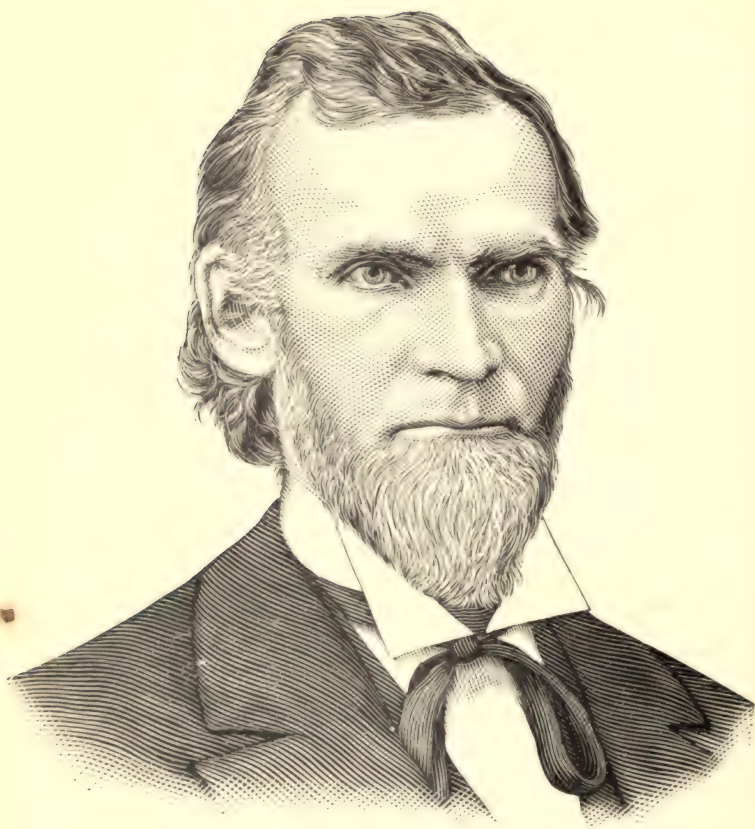
by the presence of four children, three daughters and one son. The daughters—Julia, Mary, and Letitia by name—are still young, Letitia, the youngest, being but 16, while Julia is not yet 20. They are all pretty, vivacious, and of joyous dispositions, and Bloomington knows no livelier and happier home. The son, Louis, is 23 years of age, and none too strong. While preparing for Yale College, he was injured during a hunting excursion by the bursting of his gun, being so seriously hurt that for a year and a half he was not able to leave the house. Recently he has spent some time in Southern California, and with decided advantage to his health, having returned home very greatly improved.

The other members of the family consist of Mrs. Stevenson, now a matronly lady, of amiable and benevolent countenance, and devoted to home interests, and Mr. Stevenson's aged mother, now 83 years of age. The old lady has a fervent admiration of her son, and with reason, for, to quote her own words, "My boy was always what I would wish him to be. He loved me, and words were never necessary to make me know it. His acts prove it. He was dutiful; he was honest; he was a good boy, and he has been a good man."

The old lady's eulogy is in no sense misplaced; her son is undeniably a good man, and one of the most genial and sociable that can be found in the

wide West. He has an exhaustless fund of wit and humor, and during his younger days was known and admired as the wit of that portion of Illinois. His enjoyment of a joke has never left him, and his laugh rings out as cheerily now on hearing a good story as it did 20 years ago. He is fond of music, is devoted to his family, and loves nothing better than to gather them around him, not as the stern parent, but as the warm sympathizer in all their joys and sorrows. In brief, we may say that their residence is a typical American home, and that there is no family in the land more admirable for the personal and social qualities of its inmates. As regards the respect in which Mr. Stevenson is held by the citizens of his district nothing need be said. They have testified to it by voting for him without regard to party, and by their unanimous delight in his recent nomination to the exalted office of Vice-President.





WM. S. HOLMAN.

PRINCIPLES

OF THE

DEMOCRATIC PARTY



PRINCIPLES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRINCIPLES OF WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON lived before the days of party politics. He exemplified his principles by his conduct, whether at the head of the army or of the civil Administration. He had studied well the principles of free governments in former ages and was well grounded in the faith. In his Farewell Address to the American people he left a legacy any party might well be proud of. Not because he was at the head of a so-called Democratic or Republican or any party, but because the few fundamental principles upon which rested the perpetuity of the Union which he announced have always been a part of the faith of the Democracy, does it become appropriate here to insert those principles. No person can be a sound Democrat who cannot give unqualified assent to them. In substance he announced the following principles:—

“The union of the government is the main pillar in the edifice of our real independence: the support of our tranquillity at home, our peace abroad; of our safety and our prosperity, yea, of the very liberty all so highly prize.”

He warned his countrymen that from different causes and from different quarters great pains would be taken (as was the case three-quarters of a century after that), and many artifices would be employed to weaken in the minds of the people the conviction of this great truth. He told them that this was a point in their political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies would most constantly and most actively, though covertly and insidiously, direct their assaults.

He entreated them to cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to the Union, accustoming them to think and speak of it as the palladium of their political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever might even suggest a suspicion that it could in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our countrymen from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which link together the various parts of our common country.

Whether he called himself a Democrat or not makes no difference, this principle of cherishing

an absolute devotion to the existence of the Union under one form of government is a sacred Democratic principle that must be subscribed to by every citizen of this great Republic who aspires to be called an American Democrat. It is because Democrats have ever entertained the same convictions and (save by the men who called themselves Democrats, but had forgotten or disregarded the warning voice of Washington, and went into a rebellion against the Government, thereby seeking to destroy the Union) have ever been true to these principles, and above all other parties most profoundly impressed with the truth of this doctrine, that many of the most thoughtful men have ever been Democrats.

Washington sought by most cogent arguments to impress upon his countrymen that all parts of the country, North, South, East, and West, had a common destiny and a common interest in the general welfare of every other section, and because each added strength and security to the other, and in this sense the Union was the main prop of our liberties, so that the love for one should endear to the people the preservation of the other, and thus become the primary object of patriotic desire.

Democrats believe all this ; and though the party itself became distracted and many of its adherents were dragged into a rebellion, still, so soon as military force was overcome and the conviction

of the mind could be freely exercised, even those again became as ardently attached to the Union as any other portion of our people, and since the close of the war have sought, by every means within their power, to bring together and bind more closely the whole people of this Union in the bonds of a fraternal brotherhood of States.

Washington warned his countrymen against sectionalism. He cautioned them that designing men, as they ever have, would endeavor to excite a belief that there was a real difference of local interests and views. He said one of the expedients of partyisms would be to acquire influence in one particular section by misrepresenting the opinions and aims of another section, and that they could not shield themselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings aroused by these misrepresentations, tending to alienate the sections from each other instead of binding them more closely together with fraternal regard and affection, bringing about the opposite result. It is because we have seen the Democratic party endeavoring by every possible means in its power to inculcate these same great truths, while its opponents have conducted themselves toward one section precisely in the way and manner suggested by Washington men would, that they are forced to be Democrats when true to their convictions of right.

He cautioned his countrymen against heaping

up public debts for posterity to pay, thus ungenerously throwing upon them burdens which we ourselves should pay. This whole business of bonded indebtedness is undemocratic and ought not to be indulged in if by any means it can be avoided. It is true that men calling themselves Democrats have been led astray by the plausible arguments of those who regarded "public debts as public blessings," still the Democratic party, as such, has ever denounced the practice, and because they have always coincided with him in this particular they are Democrats.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, he conjured his fellow-citizens, their jealousy ought to be constantly awake. Numerous opportunities would be offered, he said, to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence public councils.

No attachment, therefore, for one nation to the exclusion of another should be tolerated.

Such conduct would lead to concessions to one nation and denials of privileges to others, and would invite a multitude of evils upon us.

It is because this has been a fundamental principle of the Democratic party, who most heartily believe in the doctrine, hence they are Democrats.

Washington also advised his countrymen to resist with care the spirit of innovation upon the principles on which the Government was founded,

however specious the pretext might be. One method of assault would be, he said, to effect under the forms of the Constitution alterations which would impair the whole system. It is because the Democratic party, impressed by the truth of these teachings of Washington, has opposed the numerous amendments constantly being proposed that they are Democrats, believing that in this they adhere more strictly to the teachings of Washington than any other party.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRINCIPLES OF JEFFERSON.

ALTHOUGH in his time not called "a Democrat," yet the leader of what was then known as the Republican party, contending against the Federal or strong government party, Thomas Jefferson was perhaps one of the best expounders of those principles now held by the Democratic party among all of those Revolutionary sages.

In his writings and official messages as President we find the most frequent allusions to and rigid application of them in the administration of public affairs, so that he has been called "the father of the Democratic party." It was pecu-

liarily appropriate that he should do so, because, though early in the history of our Government yet, anti-democratic principles were already slowly creeping into the administration of public affairs under the Administration of the elder Adams, so that it required vigorous opposition and determined application to bring the Government back once more to be administered in accordance with those pure principles of a representative democratic government.

In his inaugural address, delivered to Congress on March 4th, 1801, the commencement as well of a new century as of a new era in our government, President Jefferson announced the following fundamental doctrines of democracy, which, he said, he deemed essential principles of our Government, which should guide him in its administration. He compressed them within the smallest possible compass, stating only the general principles, but not all their limitations:—

First. Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever State or persuasion, religious or political.

Second. Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliance with none.

Third. The support of the State governments in all their rights as the most competent administrators of our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies.

Fourth. The preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad.

Fifth. A jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable means are unprovided.

Sixth. Absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principles of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism.

Seventh. A well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them.

Eighth. The supremacy of the civil over the military authority.

Ninth. Economy in the public expenses, that labor may be lightly burdened.

Tenth. The honest payment of our debts and the sacred preservation of the public faith.

Eleventh. Encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as its handmaid.

Twelfth. The diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason.

Thirteenth. Freedom of religion.

Fourteenth. Freedom of the press.

Fifteenth. Freedom of the person under the protection of the habeas corpus.

Sixteenth. Trial by juries impartially selected. "These principles," said Jefferson, "form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through the age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

It is because Democrats believe every one of those fundamental principles to be true that they are Democrats.

CHAPTER III.

THE PRINCIPLES OF MADISON.

DEMOCRATS believe in a full, unequivocal and hearty support of the Constitution, in a strict construction of it, and in the spirit and the purpose for which it was formed, and in Madison, also, who took such a deep interest in its formation as to be called "the father of the Constitution," they have another exponent of sound Democratic principles.

He knew well the principles on which that Constitution was founded. He had studied the rise, progress, decay, and fall of every free government which had gone before, and, profiting by the very misfortunes of other nations, he had secured in the adoption of our Constitution such principles as he fondly believed would prevent us as a people from falling into similar errors. Standing upon the threshold of his great office as President of the United States, succeeding Jefferson, he announced the following as additional principles vital to the welfare of the American people in their intercourse with foreign nations. They were in part but the echoes which came from the lips of Washington and Jefferson, and became the policy of the Democratic party ever since. He announced them as follows :—

First. To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations having a corresponding disposition.

Second. To maintain sincere neutrality toward belligerent nations.

Third. To prefer in all cases amicable discussions and reasonable accommodation of differences to a decision of them by an appeal to arms.

Fourth. To exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities, so degrading to all countries and so baneful to free ones.

Fifth. To foster a spirit of independence, too just to invade the rights of others, too proud to

surrender our own, too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudices ourselves, and too elevated not to look down upon them in others.

Sixth. To hold the Union of the States as the basis of their peace and happiness.

Seventh. To support the Constitution, which is the cement of the Union, as well in its limitations as in its authorities.

Eighth. To respect the rights and authorities reserved to the States and the people as equally incorporated with and essential to the success of the general system.

Ninth. To avoid the slightest interferences with the rights of conscience or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction.

Tenth. To preserve in their full energy the salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights and the freedom of the press.

Eleventh. To observe economy in public expenditures.

Twelfth. To liberate public resources by an honorable discharge of the public debts.

Thirteenth. To keep within the requisite limits a standing military force, always remembering that an armed and trained militia is the firmest bulwark of republics.

Fourteenth. That without standing armies, their liberties can never be in danger, nor with large ones, safe.

Fifteenth. To promote, by authorized means,

improvements friendly to agriculture, to commerce, to manufactures, and to external as well as internal commerce.

Sixteenth. To favor, in like manner, the advancement of science and diffusion of information as the best aliment of true liberty.

Seventeenth. To carry on benevolent plans for the conversion of our aboriginal neighbors from the degradation and wretchedness of savage life to a participation of the improvements of which the human mind and manners are susceptible in a civilized state.

In one of his messages he also laid down the principle that a well-instructed people alone can be permanently free, all of which Democrats devoutly believe.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRINCIPLES OF JACKSON.

IN the principles of Andrew Jackson the Democracy take great pride. From his inaugural address, on March 4th, A. D. 1829, to the close of his Administration of eight years, in every message to Congress he uttered Democratic sentiments in a terse, vigorous style, which, on account of their self-evident truth, deeply rooted themselves in American hearts and became the

principles of the Democratic party, which during his Administration first took that name and which it has held ever since. They are found scattered all through his messages, and were his guide in deciding all questions of national policy, so many of which pressed themselves upon him during his term of office. From these the following may be selected and placed in order, which should be thoroughly studied and applied to all questions which may even now arise.

First. He said: "Regard should be had for the rights of the several States, taking care not to confound the powers reserved to them with those they had in the Constitution granted to the General Government.

Second. In every aspect of the case advantage must result from strict and faithful economy in the administration of public affairs.

Third. He declared the unnecessary duration of the public debt incompatible with real independence.

Fourth. In the adjustment of a tariff for revenue, he insisted that a spirit of equity, caution, and compromise requires the great interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce to be equally favored.

Fifth. He admitted the policy of internal improvements to be wise only in so far as they could be promoted by constitutional acts of the General Government.

Sixth. He declared standing armies to be dangerous to free government, and that the military should be in strict subordination to the civil power.

Seventh. He declared the national militia to be the bulwark of our national defense. In enforcing this principle, he declared that so long as the Government was administered for the good of the people and regulated by their will; so long as it secured to the people the rights of person and of property, liberty of conscience and of the press, the Government would be worth defending, and so long as it was worth defending the patriotic militia would cover it with an impenetrable *ægis*.

Eighth. He pledged himself to the work of reform in the Administration, so that the patronage of the General Government, which had been brought into conflict with the freedom of elections and had disturbed the rightful course of appointments by continuing in power unfaithful and incompetent public servants, should no longer be used for that purpose.

Ninth. He declared his belief in the principle that the integrity and zeal of public officers would advance the interests of the public service more than mere numbers.

Tenth. He declared the right of the *people* to elect a President, and that it was never designed that their choice should in any case be defeated by the intervention of agents, enforcing this principle by saying, what experience had amply



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proved, that in proportion as agents were multiplied to execute the will of the people, there was the danger increased that their wishes would be frustrated. Some *may be* unfaithful—all liable to err. So far, then, as the people were concerned, it was better for them to express their own will.

Eleventh. The *majority* should govern. No President elected by a minority could so successfully discharge his duties as he who knew he was supported by the majority of the people.

Twelfth. He advocated *rotation in office*. Corruption, he said, would spring up among those in power, and, therefore, he thought appointments should not be made for a longer period than four years. Everybody had equal right to office, and he favored removals as a leading principle which would give healthful action to the political system.

Thirteenth. He advocated unfettered commerce, free from restrictive tariff laws, leaving it to flow into those natural channels in which individual enterprise, always the surest and safest guide, might direct it.

Fourteenth. He opposed specific tariffs, because subject to frequent changes, generally produced by selfish motives, and under such influences could never be just and equal.

Fifteenth. The proper fostering of manufactures and commerce tended to increase the value of agricultural products.

Sixteenth. In cases of real doubt as to matters of mere public policy he advocated a direct appeal to the people, the source of all power, as the most sacred of all obligations and the wisest and most safe course to pursue.

Seventeenth. He advocated a just and equitable bankrupt law as beneficial to the country at large, because after the means to discharge debts had entirely been exhausted, not to discharge them only served to dispirit the debtor, sink him into a state of apathy, make him a useless drone in society, or a vicious member of it, if not a feeling witness of the rigor and inhumanity of his country. Oppressive debt being the bane of enterprise, it should be the care of the Republic not to exert a grinding power over misfortune and poverty.

Eighteenth. He declared in favor of the principle that no money should be expended until first appropriated for the purpose by the Legislature. The people paid the taxes, and their direct representatives should alone have the right to say what they should be taxed for, in what sums, and how and when it should be paid.

Nineteenth. He utterly opposed the system of Government aiding private corporations in making internal improvements. It was deceptive and conducive of improvidence in the expenditure of public moneys. For this purpose appropriations could be obtained with greater facilities, granted

with inadequate security, and frequently complicated the administration of Government.

Twentieth. The operations of the General Government should be strictly confined to the few simple but important objects for which it was originally designed.

Twenty-first. He favored the veto power in the Executive, *but only* to be exercised in cases of attempted violation of the Constitution, or in cases next to it in importance.

Twenty-second. He advocated State rights as far as consistent with the rightful action of the General Government as the very best means of preserving harmony between them; and pronounced this the true faith, and the one to which might be mainly attributed the success of the entire system, and to which alone we must look for stability in it.

Twenty-third. He advocated "a uniform and sound currency," but doubted the constitutionality and expediency of a National Bank; and afterward made his Administration famous by successfully opposing the renewal of its charter.

Twenty-fourth. Precious metals as the only currency known to the Constitution. Their peculiar properties rendered them the standard of values in other countries, and had been adopted in this. The experience of the evils of paper money had made it so obnoxious in the past that the framers of the Constitution had forbidden its adoption as the legal-tender currency of the country.

Variableness must ever be the characteristic of a currency not based upon those metals. Expansion and contraction, without regard to principles which regulate the value of those metals as a standard in the general trade of the world, were, he said, extremely pernicious.

Where these properties are not infused into the circulation, and do not control it, prices must vary according to the tide of the issue ; the value and stability of property exposed, uncertainty attend the administration of institutions constantly liable to temptations of an interest distinct from that of the community at large, all this attended by loss to the laboring class, who have neither time nor opportunity to watch the ebb and flow of the money market.

Twenty-fifth. He renews his advocacy of a cheerful compliance with the will of the majority ; and the exercise of the power as expressed in a spirit of moderation, justice and brotherly kindness as the best means to cement and forever preserve the Union. Those, he closes, who advocate sentiments adverse to those expressed, however honest, are, in effect, the worst enemies of their country.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRINCIPLES OF TILDEN.

THE fundamental principles of liberty adapted to a republican form of government were thus laid down by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson, and carried out by a long line of public men in legislation and the concerns of government. Among the men who did much to preserve and maintain these principles of popular government, in which the relations of the General Government to the States and the relation of both to the people were preserved in true adjustment, was Samuel J. Tilden, elected President in 1876 by the people and by a majority of the honestly chosen electors, and defrauded of the office as the successful result of a dastardly conspiracy.

Mr. Tilden began to take an active part in the discussion of serious political questions as early as 1833, when the question of the right of a State to nullify the laws of the United States was the dominant one. He had early been brought into close personal and political association with Martin Van Buren, Silas Wright, and other leaders of the Democratic party in the State of New York, and by their advice contributed to the discussion of the issues then uppermost in the public mind.

From that time, when he contributed to the local newspapers of his native county, until his death in 1886, his letters, speeches, and legal arguments form a body of constitutional interpretation which, in both quantity and value, are of the highest importance to the student of political history. It is difficult to make any selection from all this body of Tilden's writings which will fairly represent him, but the following extracts give a fair idea of his devotion to his country and to Democratic principles :

“It is no part of the duty of the State to coerce the individual man, except so far as his conduct may affect others, not remotely and consequentially, but by violating rights which legislation can recognize and undertake to protect.”

“The reason why self-government is better than government by any one man, or by a foreign people, is that the policy evolved by this process is generally better adapted to the actual condition of the society on which it is to operate.”

“Every business, every industrial interest, is paralyzed under excessive taxation, false systems of finance, extravagant cost of protection, diminished ability to consume.”

“These taxes, when laid on imports in the manner in which they were laid in the Congressional

carnival of manufacturers which framed our present tariff, cause a misapplication of industry that charges on the consumer what neither the Government is able to collect as taxes, nor the manufacturer to appropriate as profits. They lessen the productive power of human labor as if God had cursed it with ungenial climate or sterile soil."

"There is no royal road for a government more than for an individual or a corporation. What you want to do is to cut down your expenses and live within your income. I would give all the legerdemain of finance and financiering—I would give the whole of it—for the old homely maxim, 'Live within your income.'"

"Disunion and centralization are equally fatal to good government."

"When the two ideas of personal gain and the bestowal of office are allowed to be in our mind at the same time they will become associated, and it is but a step to the sale of the greatest trusts. Intellect, training, and virtue will soon succumb to wealth. Vulgar millionaires will grasp the highest seats of honor and power as they would put a new emblazonment on their carriages or a gaudy livery on their servants."

"Principles are the test of political character. The Democracy always made fidelity to official trust and justice to the toiling masses who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow a fundamental article in their party creed."

"I myself never lost courage, never lost my belief that the element of human society which seeks for what is good is more powerful, if we will trust it, than all those selfish combinations that would obtain unjust advantage over the masses of the people."

"Whoever obstructs the means of payment obstructs also the facilities of sale. We must relax our barbarous revenue system so as not to retard the natural processes of trade. We must no longer legislate against the wants of humanity and the beneficence of God."

"The pecuniary sacrifices of the people are not to be measured by the receipts into the Treasury. They are vastly greater. A tax that starts in its career by disturbing the productive power of labor, and then comes to the consumer distended by profits of successive intermediaries and by insurance against the risks of a fickle or uncertain governmental policy and of a fluctuating governmental standard of value, blights human well-being at every step. When it reaches the hapless child

of toil who buys his bread by the single loaf and his fuel by the basket, it devours his earnings and inflicts starvation."

"The Constitution of the United States is by its own terms declared to be perpetual. The government created by its acts, within the sphere of its powers, directly upon each individual citizen. No State is authorized, in any contingency, to suspend or obstruct that action, or to exempt any citizen from the obligation to obedience. Any pretended act of nullification or secession whereby such effect is attempted to be produced is absolutely void."

" * * Our wise ancestors warned us against standing armies and all those false systems of government which require standing armies. They formed the Union of the States that we might be free from the jealousies of coterminous countries, which has been the usual pretext of tyrants for maintaining costly military establishments. They founded that Union on the principles of local self-government, to be everywhere carried on by the voluntary co-operation of the governed. They did not intend that one part of our country should govern another part."

" * * The destruction of all local self-government in a country so extensive as ours, and em-

bracing such elements of diversity in habits, manners, opinions, and interests, and the exercises by a single centralized authority of all the powers of society over so vast a region and over such population would entail upon us an indefinite series of civic commotions, and repeat here the worst crimes and worst calamities of history."

"Our wise ancestors warned us that this grand experiment in self-government would turn on the intelligence and virtue of the people, and that our efforts to cultivate and elevate must be commensurate with our diffusion of political rights and political powers. It is a great partnership in self-government. Every man yields a share in the government of himself to every other man, and acquires a share in the government over that other man."

"The immigrants who have contributed so much to swell the population of our Northern States spring from the same parent stocks with ourselves. They come to rejoin their kindred. Races have a growth and culture as well as individuals. What a race has been many centuries in accumulating is often appropriated and developed in an individual life, in the ascent from the humblest origin to the highest attainments of the species. Our accessions are drawn from races which has lived under essentially the same climatic influences

with ourselves, which have attained the highest civilization and made the largest progress in the arts and industries of mankind. They are attracted here by their aspirations for civil liberty, or for the improvement of their personal condition ; and every aspiration ennobles. They are well represented in all our occupations which call for intellect and culture, and even the portion which come to fill the ranks of raw labor, made vacant by the ascent to more skilled and more remunerative employments, which our universal education opens to all, show a capacity quickly to follow in the noble competition for improvement."

"There is no instrumentality in human society so potential in its influence upon mankind, for good or evil, as the governmental machinery for administering justice and for making and executing laws. Not all the eleemosynary institutions of private benevolence to which philanthropists may devote their lives, are so fruitful in benefits as the rescue and preservation of this machinery from the perversions that make it the instrument of conspiracy, fraud, and crime against the most sacred rights and interests of the people."

"Every power is a trust and involves a duty."

"All history shows that reform in Government must not be expected from those who sit serenely

on the social mountain tops, enjoying the benefits of the existing order of things. Even the Divine Author of our religion found His followers, not among the self-complacent Pharisees, but among lowly minded fishermen."

"The Republican party is largely made up of those who live by their wits, and who aspire in politics to advantages over the rest of mankind similar to those which their daily lives are devoted to securing in private business.

"The Democratic party consists largely of those who live by the work of their hands, and whose political action is governed by their sentiments or imagination.

"It results that the Democratic party, more readily than the Republican party, can be molded to the support of reform measures which involve a sacrifice of selfish interests."

CHAPTER VI.

THE PRINCIPLES OF TARIFF REFORM.

FOLLOWING is the famous message of December, 1887, sent by President Cleveland to the first session of the Fiftieth Congress:—

To the Congress of the United States:—

You are confronted at the threshold of your legislative duties with a condition of the national finances which imperatively demands immediate and careful consideration.

The amount of money annually exacted, through the operation of present laws, from the industries and necessities of the people, largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government.

When we consider that the theory of our institutions guarantees to every citizen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deduction as may be his share toward the careful and economical maintenance of the Government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion, and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. This wrong inflicted upon those who bear the burden of national

taxation, like other wrongs, multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public treasury, which should only exist as a conduit conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding-place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder.

This condition of our treasury is not altogether new; and it has more than once of late been submitted to the people's representatives in the Congress, who alone can apply a remedy. And yet the situation still continues, with aggravated incidents, more than ever presaging financial convulsion and widespread disaster.

It will not do to neglect this situation because its dangers are not now palpably imminent and apparent. They exist none the less certainly, and await the unforeseen and unexpected occasion when suddenly they will be precipitated upon us.

On the 30th day of June, 1885, the excess of revenues over public expenditures after complying with the annual requirement of the sinking-fund act, was \$17,859,735.84; during the year ended June 30th, 1886, such excess amounted to \$49,405,545.20; and during the year ended June 30th, 1887, it reached the sum of \$55,567,849.54.

The annual contributions to the sinking fund

during the three years above specified, amounting in the aggregate to \$138,058,320.94, and deducted from the surplus as stated, were made by calling in for that purpose outstanding three per cent. bonds of the Government. During the six months prior to June 30th, 1887, the surplus revenue had grown so large by repeated accumulations, and it was feared the withdrawal of this great sum of money needed by the people, would so affect the business of the country, that the sum of \$79,864,-100 of such surplus was applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the three per cent. bonds still outstanding, and which were then payable at the option of the Government. The precarious condition of financial affairs among the people still needing relief, immediately after the 30th day of June, 1887, the remainder of the three per cent. bonds then outstanding, amounting with principal and interest to the sum of \$18,877,500, were called in and applied to the sinking-fund contribution for the current fiscal year. Notwithstanding these operations of the Treasury Department, representations of distress in business circles not only continued but increased, and absolute peril seemed at hand. In these circumstances the contribution to the sinking fund for the current fiscal year was at once completed by the expenditure of \$27,684,283.55 in the purchase of Government bonds not yet due bearing four and four and a half per cent. interest, the pre-

mium paid thereon averaging about twenty-four per cent. for the former and eight per cent. for the latter. In addition to this the interest accruing during the current year upon the outstanding bonded indebtedness of the Government was to some extent anticipated, and banks selected as depositories of public money were permitted to somewhat increase their deposits.

While the expedients thus employed to release to the people the money lying idle in the Treasury served to avert immediate danger, our surplus revenues have continued to accumulate, the excess for the present year amounting on the first day of December to \$55,258,701.19, and estimated to reach the sum of \$113,000,000 on the 30th of June next, at which date it is expected that this sum, added to prior accumulations, will swell the surplus in the Treasury to \$140,000,000.

There seems to be no assurance that, with such a withdrawal from use of the people's circulating medium, our business community may not in the near future be subjected to the same distress which was quite lately produced from the same cause. And while the functions of our National Treasury should be few and simple, and while its best condition would be reached, I believe, by its entire disconnection with private business interests, yet when, by a perversion of its purposes, it idly holds money uselessly subtracted from the channels of trade, there seems to be reason for the





CHARLES F. CRISP,
Speaker of the House.

claim that some legitimate means should be devised by the Government to restore in an emergency, without waste or extravagance, such money to its place among the people.

If such an emergency arises there now exists no clear and undoubted executive power of relief. Heretofore the redemption of three per cent. bonds, which were payable at the option of the Government, has afforded a means for the disbursement of the excess of our revenues ; but these bonds have all been retired, and there are no bonds outstanding the payment of which we have the right to insist upon. The contribution to the sinking fund which furnishes the occasion for expenditure in the purchase of bonds has been already made for the current year, so that there is no outlet in that direction.

In the present state of legislation the only pretense of any existing executive power to restore, at this time, any part of our surplus revenues to the people by its expenditure, consists in the supposition that the Secretary of the Treasury may enter the market and purchase the bonds of the Government not yet due, at a rate of premium to be agreed upon. The only provision of law from which such power could be derived is found in an appropriation bill passed a number of years ago ; and it is subject to the suspicion that it was intended as temporary and limited in its application, instead of conferring a continuing discretion

and authority. No condition ought to exist which would justify the grant of power to a single official, upon his judgment of its necessity, to withhold from or release to the business of the people, in an unusual manner, money held in the Treasury, and thus affect, at his will, the financial situation of the country ; and if it is deemed wise to lodge in the Secretary of the Treasury the authority in the present juncture to purchase bonds, it should be plainly vested, and provided, as far as possible, with such checks and limitations as will define this official's right and discretion, and at the same time relieve him from undue responsibility.

In considering the question of purchasing bonds as a means of restoring to circulation the surplus money accumulating in the Treasury, it should be borne in mind that premiums must of course be paid upon such purchase, that there may be a large part of these bonds held as investments which cannot be purchased at any price, and that combinations among holders who are willing to sell, may unreasonably enhance the cost of such bonds to the Government.

It has been suggested that the present bonded debt might be refunded at a less rate of interest, and the difference between the old and new security paid in cash, thus finding use for the surplus in the Treasury. The success of this plan, it is apparent, must depend upon the volition of the holders of the present bonds ; and it is not entirely

certain that the inducement which must be offered them would result in more financial benefit to the Government than the purchase of bonds while the latter proposition would reduce the principal of the debt by actual payment, instead of extending it.

The proposition to deposit the money held by the Government in banks throughout the country, for use by the people, is, it seems to me, exceedingly objectionable in principle, as establishing too close a relationship between the operations of the Government Treasury and the business of the country, and too extensive a commingling of their money, thus fostering an unnatural reliance in private business upon public funds. If this scheme should be adopted, it should only be done as a temporary expedient to meet an urgent necessity. Legislative and executive effort should generally be in the opposite direction, and should have a tendency to divorce, as much and as fast as can safely be done, the Treasury Department from private enterprise.

Of course it is not expected that unnecessary and extravagant appropriations will be made for the purpose of avoiding the accumulation of an excess of revenue. Such expenditure, beside the demoralization of all just conceptions of public duty which it entails, stimulates a habit of reckless improvidence not in the least consistent with the mission of our people or the high and beneficent purposes of our Government.

I have deemed it my duty to thus bring to the knowledge of my countrymen, as well as to the attention of their representatives charged with the responsibility of legislative relief, the gravity of our financial situation. The failure of the Congress heretofore to provide against the dangers which it was quite evident the very nature of the difficulty must necessarily produce, caused a condition of financial distress and apprehension since your last adjournment which taxed to the utmost all the authority and expedients within executive control ; and these appear now to be exhausted. If disaster results from the continued inaction of Congress, the responsibility must rest where it belongs.

Though the situation thus far considered is fraught with danger which should be fully realized, and though it presents features of wrong to the people as well as peril to the country, it is but a result growing out of a perfectly palpable and apparent cause, constantly reproducing the same alarming circumstances—a congested national treasury and a depleted monetary condition in the business of the country. It need hardly be stated that while the present situation demands a remedy, we can only be saved from a like predicament in the future by the removal of its cause.

Our scheme of taxation, by means of which this needless surplus is taken from the people and put in the public treasury, consists of a tariff or

duty levied upon importations from abroad, and internal revenue taxes levied upon the consumption of tobacco and spirituous and malt liquors. It must be conceded that none of the things subjected to internal revenue taxation are, strictly speaking, necessities ; there appears to be no just complaint of this taxation by the consumers of these articles, and there seems to be nothing so well able to bear the burden without hardship to any portion of the people.

But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never use and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use

things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the Government's income; and in a readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers. It may be called protection, or by any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff laws should be devised with especial precaution against imperiling the existence of our manufacturing interests. But this existence should not mean a condition which, without regard to the public welfare or a national exigency, must always insure the realization of immense profits instead of moderately

profitable returns. As the volume and diversity of our national activities increase, new recruits are added to those who desire a continuation of the advantages which they conceive the present system of tariff taxation directly affords them. So stubbornly have all efforts to reform the present condition been resisted by those of our fellow-citizens thus engaged, that they can hardly complain of the suspicion, entertained to a certain extent, that there exists an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage.

We are in the midst of centennial celebrations, and with becoming pride we rejoice in American skill and ingenuity, in American energy and enterprise, and in the wonderful natural advantages and resources developed by a century's national growth. Yet when an attempt is made to justify a scheme which permits a tax to be laid upon every consumer in the land for the benefit of our manufacturers, quite beyond a reasonable demand for governmental regard, it suits the purposes of advocacy to call our manufactures infant industries, still needing the highest and greatest degree of favor and fostering care that can be wrung from Federal legislation.

It is also said that the increase in the price of domestic manufactures resulting from the present tariff is necessary in order that higher wages may be paid to our workingmen employed in manufactories than are paid for what is called the pauper

labor of Europe. All will acknowledge the force of an argument which involves the welfare and liberal compensation of our laboring people. Our labor is honorable in the eyes of every American citizen; and as it lies at the foundation of our development and progress, it is entitled, without affectation or hypocrisy, to the utmost regard. The standard of our laborers' life should not be measured by that of any other country less favored, and they are entitled to their full share of all our advantages.

By the last census it is made to appear that of the 17,392,099 of our population engaged in all kinds of industries 7,670,493 are employed in agriculture, 4,074,238 in professional and personal service (2,934,876 of whom are domestic servants and laborers), while 1,810,256 are employed in trade and transportation, and 3,837,112 are classed as employed in manufacturing and mining.

For present purposes, however, the last number given should be considerably reduced. Without attempting to enumerate all, it will be conceded that there should be deducted from those which it includes 375,143 carpenters and joiners, 285,401 milliners, dressmakers and seamstresses, 172,726 blacksmiths, 133,756 tailors and tailoresses, 102,473 masons, 76,241 butchers, 41,309 bakers, 22,083 plasterers, and 4891 engaged in manufacturing agricultural implements, amounting in the aggregate to 1,214,023, leaving 2,623,089 persons employed in

such manufacturing industries as are claimed to be benefited by a high tariff.

To these the appeal is made to save their employment and maintain their wages by resisting a change. There should be no disposition to answer such suggestions by the allegation that they are in a minority among those who labor, and therefore should forego no advantage, in the interest of low prices for the majority; their compensation, as it may be affected by the operation of tariff laws, should at all times be scrupulously kept in view; and yet with slight reflection they will not overlook the fact that they are consumers with the rest; that they, too, have their own wants and those of their families to supply from their earnings, and that the price of the necessities of life, as well as the amount of their wages, will regulate the measure of their welfare and comfort.

But the reduction of taxation demanded should be so measured as not to necessitate or justify either the loss of employment by the working-man nor the lessening of his wages; and the profits still remaining to the manufacturer, after a necessary readjustment, should furnish no excuse for the sacrifice of the interests of his employés either in their opportunity to work or in the diminution of their compensation. Nor can the worker in manufactures fail to understand that while a high tariff is claimed to be necessary to allow the

payment of remunerative wages, it certainly results in a very large increase in the price of nearly all sorts of manufactures, which, in almost countless forms, he needs for the use of himself and his family. He receives at the desk of his employer his wages, and perhaps before he reaches his home is obliged, in a purchase for family use of an article which embraces his own labor, to return in the payment of the increase in price which the tariff permits, the hard-earned compensation of many days of toil.

The farmer and the agriculturist who manufacture nothing, but who pay the increased price which the tariff imposes, upon every agricultural implement, upon all he wears and upon all he uses and owns, except the increase of his flocks and herds, and such things as his husbandry produces from the soil, is invited to aid in maintaining the present situation; and he is told that a high duty on imported wool is necessary for the benefit of those who have sheep to shear, in order that the price of their wool may be increased. They of course are not reminded that the farmer who has no sheep is by this scheme obliged, in his purchases of clothing and woollen goods to pay a tribute to his fellow farmer as well as to the manufacturer and merchant; nor is any mention made of the fact that the sheep owners themselves and their households must wear clothing and use other articles

manufactured from the wool they sell at tariff prices, and thus as consumers must return their share of this increased price to the tradesman.

I think it may be fairly assumed that a large proportion of the sheep owned by the farmers throughout the country are found in small flocks numbering from twenty-five to fifty. The duty on the grade of imported wool which these sheep yield is ten cents each pound if of the value of thirty cents or less, and twelve cents if of the value of more than thirty cents. If the liberal estimate of six pounds be allowed for each fleece, the duty thereon would be sixty or seventy-two cents, and this may be taken as the utmost enhancement of its price to the farmer by reason of this duty. Eighteen dollars would thus represent the increased price of the wool from twenty-five sheep and thirty-six dollars that from the wool of fifty sheep; and at present values this addition would amount to about one-third of its price. If upon its sale the farmer receives this or a less tariff profit, the wool leaves his hands charged with precisely that sum, which in all its changes will adhere to it, until it reaches the consumer. When manufactured into cloth and other goods and material for use, its cost is not only increased to the extent of the farmer's tariff profit, but a further sum has been added for the benefit of the manufacturer under the operation of other tariff laws. In the meantime the day arrives when the

farmer finds it necessary to purchase woollen goods and material to clothe himself and family for the winter. When he faces the tradesman for that purpose he discovers that he is obliged not only to return in the way of increased prices his tariff profit on the wool he sold, and which then perhaps lies before him in manufactured form, but that he must add a considerable sum thereto to meet a further increase in cost caused by a tariff duty on the manufacture. Thus in the end he is aroused to the fact that he has paid upon a moderate purchase, as a result of the tariff scheme, which, when he sold his wool seemed so profitable, an increase in price more than sufficient to sweep away all the tariff profit he received upon the wool he produced and sold.

When the number of farmers engaged in wool-raising is compared with all the farmers in the country, and the small proportion they bear to our population is considered ; when it is made apparent that, in the case of a large part of those who own sheep, the benefit of the present tariff on wool is illusory ; and, above all, when it must be conceded that the increase of the cost of living caused by such tariff becomes a burden upon those with moderate means and the poor, the employed and unemployed, the sick and well, and the young and old, and that it constitutes a tax which, with relentless grasp, is fastened upon the clothing of every man, woman and child in the land, reasons

are suggested why the removal or reduction of this duty should be included in a revision of our tariff laws.

In speaking of the increased cost to the consumer of our home manufactures, resulting from a duty laid upon imported articles of the same description, the fact is not overlooked that competition among our domestic producers sometimes has the effect of keeping the price of their products below the highest limit allowed by such duty. But it is notorious that this competition is too often strangled by combinations quite prevalent at this time, and frequently called trusts, which have for their object the regulation of the supply and price of commodities made and sold by members of the combination. The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes.

If, however, in the absence of such combination, a healthy and free competition reduces the price of any particular dutiable article of home production below the limit which it might otherwise reach under our tariff laws, and if, with such reduced price, its manufacture continues to thrive, it is entirely evident that one thing has been discovered which should be carefully scrutinized in an effort to reduce taxation.

The necessity of combination to maintain the price of any commodity to the tariff point, furnishes proof that some one is willing to accept

lower prices for such commodity, and that such prices are remunerative; and lower prices produced by competition prove the same thing. Thus, where either of these conditions exist, a case would seem to be presented for an easy reduction of taxation.

The considerations which have been presented touching our tariff laws are intended only to enforce an earnest recommendation that the surplus revenues of the Government be prevented by the reduction of our customs duties, and, at the same time, to emphasize a suggestion that in accomplishing this purpose, we may discharge a double duty to our people by granting to them a measure of relief from tariff taxation in quarters where it is most needed and from sources where it can be most fairly and justly accorded.

Nor can the presentation made of such considerations be, with any degree of fairness, regarded as evidence of unfriendliness toward our manufacturing interests, or of any lack of appreciation of their value and importance.

These interests constitute a leading and most substantial element of our national greatness and furnish the proud proof of our country's progress. But if in the emergency that presses upon us our manufacturers are asked to surrender something for the public good and to avert disaster, their patriotism, as well as a grateful recognition of advantages already afforded, should lead them to willing

coöperation. No demand is made that they shall forego all the benefits of governmental regard; but they cannot fail to be admonished of their duty, as well as their enlightened self-interest and safety, when they are reminded of the fact that financial panic and collapse, to which the present condition tends, afford no greater shelter or protection to our manufactures than to our other important enterprises. Opportunity for safe, careful and deliberate reform is now offered; and none of us should be unmindful of a time when an abused and irritated people, heedless of those who have resisted timely and reasonable relief, may insist upon a radical and sweeping rectification of their wrongs.

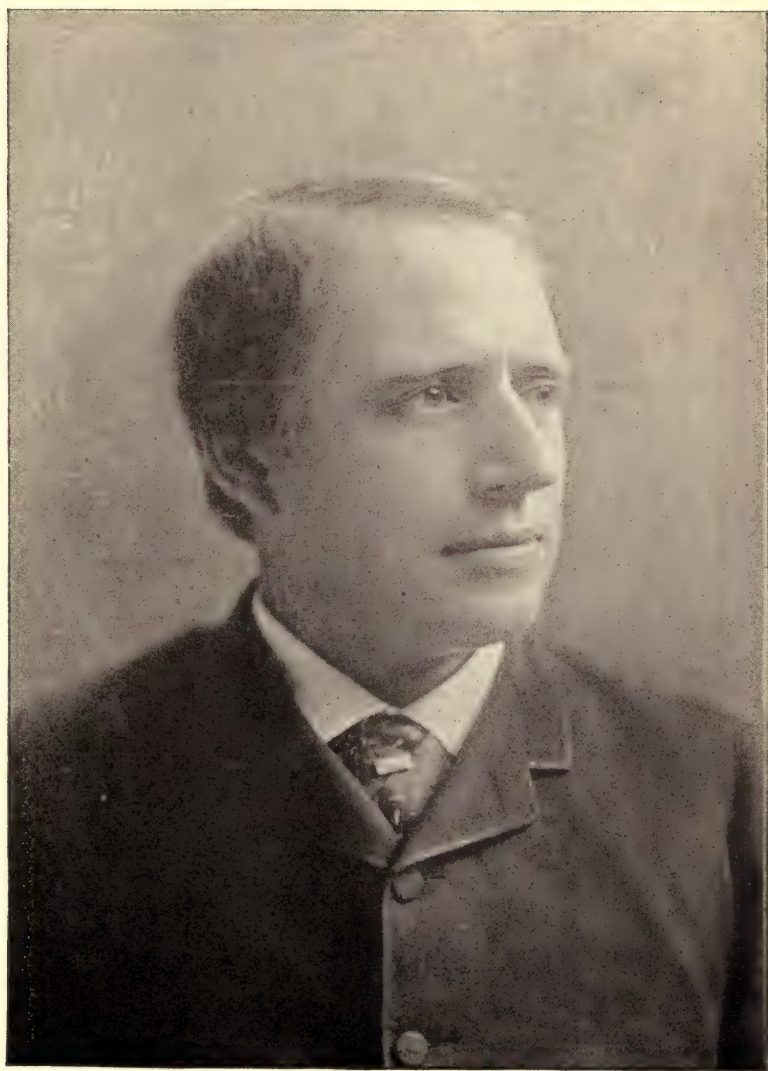
The difficulty attending a wise and fair revision of our tariff laws is not under-estimated. It will require on the part of the Congress great labor and care, and especially a broad and national contemplation of the subject, and a patriotic disregard of such local and selfish claims as are unreasonable and reckless of the welfare of the entire country.

Under our present laws more than four thousand articles are subject to duty. Many of these do not in any way compete with our own manufactures, and many are hardly worth attention as subjects of revenue. A considerable reduction can be made in the aggregate, by adding them to the free list. The taxation of luxuries presents no features of hardship; but the necessities of life used and

consumed by all the people, the duty upon which adds to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened.

The radical reduction of the duties imposed upon raw material used in manufactures, or its free importation, is of course an important factor in any effort to reduce the price of these necessities; it would not only relieve them from the increased cost caused by the tariff on such material, but the manufactured product being thus cheapened, that part of the tariff now laid upon such product, as a compensation to our manufacturers for the present price of raw material, could be accordingly modified. Such reduction, or free importation, would serve, beside, to largely reduce the revenue. It is not apparent how such a change can have an injurious effect upon our manufacturers. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries, who cheapen their wares by free material. Thus our people might have the opportunity of extending their sales beyond the limits of home consumption—saving them from the depression, interruption in business, and loss caused by a glutted domestic market, and affording their employes more certain and steady labor, with its resulting quiet and contentment.

The question thus imperatively presented for solution should be approached in a spirit higher



SENATOR A. P. GORMAN.

than partisanship and considered in the light of that regard for patriotic duty which should characterize the action of those intrusted with the weal of a confiding people. But the obligation to declared party policy and principle is not wanting to urge prompt and effective action. Both of the great political parties now represented in the Government have, by repeated and authoritative declarations, condemned the condition of our laws which permit the collection from the people of unnecessary revenue, and have, in the most solemn manner, promised its correction; and neither as citizens nor partisans are our countrymen in a mood to condone the deliberate violation of these pledges.

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a *condition* which confronts us—not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent claim made in certain quarters, that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders, is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good.

The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our workingmen need, and with benefit to them and all our people, by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts.

The Constitution provides that the President "shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union." It has been the custom of the Executive, in compliance with this provision, to annually exhibit to the Congress, at the opening of its session, the general condition of the country, and to detail, with some particularity, the operations of the different Executive Departments. It would be especially agreeable to follow this course at the present time, and to call attention to the valuable accomplishments of these Departments during the last fiscal year. But I am so much impressed with the paramount importance of the subject to which this communication has thus far been devoted, that I shall forego the addition of any other topic, and only urge upon your immediate consideration the "state of the Union" as shown in the present

condition of our treasury and our general fiscal situation, upon which every element of our safety and prosperity depends.

The reports of the heads of Departments, which will be submitted, contain full and explicit information touching the transaction of the business intrusted to them, and such recommendations relating to legislation in the public interest as they deem advisable. I ask for these reports and recommendations the deliberate examination and action of the Legislative branch of the Government.

There are other subjects not embraced in the departmental reports demanding legislative consideration and which I should be glad to submit. Some of them, however, have been earnestly presented in previous messages, and as to them I beg leave to repeat prior recommendations.

As the law makes no provision for any report from the Department of State, a brief history of the transactions of that important Department, together with other matters which it may hereafter be deemed essential to commend to the attention of the Congress, may furnish the occasion for a future communication.

GROVER CLEVELAND.





HON. ISAAC P. GRAY.

LIVES
OF
ALL THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES.

OUR FORMER PRESIDENTS

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE NATION'S HISTORY

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

FIRST President of the United States, was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on the 22d of February, 1732. He was the son of Augustine Washington, a wealthy planter, and his second wife, Mary Ball. John Washington, the great-grandfather of the illustrious subject of this sketch, emigrated from England and settled in Virginia about 1657. George Washington's father died when he was in his eleventh year, leaving him in the care of his mother, a woman of marked strength of character. She was worthy of her trust. From her he acquired that self-restraint, love of order, and strict regard for justice and fair dealing, which, with his inherent probity and truthfulness, formed the basis of a character rarely equaled for its simple, yet commanding nobleness.

Apart from his mother's training, the youthful Washington received only the ordinary country-

school education of the time, never having attended college, or taken instruction in the ancient languages. He had no inclination for any but the most practical studies, but in these he was remarkably precocious. When barely sixteen Lord Fairfax, who had become greatly interested in the promising lad, engaged him to survey his vast estates lying in the wilderness west of the Blue Ridge. So satisfactory was his performance of this perilous and difficult task, that, on its completion, he was appointed Public Surveyor. This office he held for three years, acquiring considerable pecuniary benefits, as well as a knowledge of the country, which was of value to him in his subsequent military career.

When only nineteen, Washington was appointed Military Inspector of one of the districts into which Virginia was then divided. In November, 1753, he was sent by Governor Dinwiddie on a mission to the French posts, near the Ohio River, to ascertain the designs of France in that quarter. It was a mission of hardship and peril, performed with rare prudence, sagacity, and resolution. Its brilliant success laid the foundation of his fortunes. "From that time," says Irving, "Washington was the rising hope of Virginia."

Of Washington's services in the resulting war, we cannot speak in detail. An unfortunate military expedition to the frontier was followed by a campaign under Braddock, whom he accompanied

as aid-de-camp, with the rank of colonel, in his march against Fort Duquesne. That imprudent General, scorning the advice of his youthful aid, met disastrous defeat and death. In the battle, Washington's coat was pierced by four bullets. His bravery and presence of mind alone saved the army from total destruction.

Washington, on his return, was appointed commander-in-chief of all the troops of the colony, then numbering about two thousand men. This was in 1755, when he was but little more than twenty-three years of age. Having led the Virginia troops in Forbes' expedition in 1758, by which Fort Duquesne was captured, he resigned his commission, and, in January, 1759, married Mrs. Martha Custis (*nee* Dandridge), and settled down at Mount Vernon, on the Potomac, which estate he had inherited from his elder brother Lawrence, and to which he added until it reached some eight thousand acres.

The fifteen years following his marriage were, to Washington, years of such happiness as is rarely accorded to mortals. It was the halcyon period of his life. His home was the centre of a generous hospitality, where the duties of a busy planter and of a Judge of the County Court were varied by rural enjoyments and social intercourse. He managed his estates with prudence and economy. He slurred over nothing, and exhibited, even then, that rigid adherence to system and

accuracy of detail which subsequently marked his performance of his public duties.

In the difficulties which presently arose between Great Britain and her American Colonies, Washington sympathized deeply with the latter, and took an earnest, though not specially prominent part in those movements which finally led to the War of Independence. In the first general Congress of the Colonies, which met in Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774, we find the name of Washington among the Virginia Delegates. As to the part he took in that Congress, we can only judge from a remark made by Patrick Henry, also a Delegate: "Colonel Washington," said the great orator, "was undoubtedly the greatest man on that floor, if you speak of solid information and sound judgment."

In the councils of his native province, we also get glimpses of his calm and dignified presence. And he is ever on the side of the Colonies—moderate, yet resolute, hopeful of an amicable adjustment of difficulties, yet advocating measures looking to a final appeal to arms.

At length the storm broke. The Battle of Lexington called the whole country to arms. While in the East the rude militia of New England beleaguered Boston with undisciplined but stern determination, Congress, in May, 1775, met a second time in Philadelphia. A Federal Union was formed and an army called for. As chair-

man of the various Committees on Military Affairs, Washington drew up most of the rules and regulations of the army, and devised measures for defense. The question now arose—By whom was the army to be led? Hancock, of Massachusetts, was ambitious of the place. Sectional jealousies showed themselves. Happily, however, Johnson, of Maryland, rising in his seat, nominated Washington. The election was by ballot, and unanimous. Modestly expressing sincere doubts as to his capability, Washington accepted the position with thanks, but refused to receive any salary. "I will keep an exact account of my expenses," he said. "These I doubt not Congress will discharge. That is all I desire."

On the 15th of June he received his commission. Writing a tender letter to his wife, he rapidly prepared to start on the following day to the army before Boston. He was now in the full vigor of manhood, forty-three years of age, tall, stately, of powerful frame and commanding presence. "As he sat his horse with manly grace," says Irving, "his military bearing delighted every eye, and wherever he went the air rung with acclamations."

On his way to the army, Washington met the tidings of the Battle of Bunker Hill. When told how bravely the militia had acted, a load seemed lifted from his heart. "The liberties of the country are safe!" he exclaimed. On the 2d of July

he took command of the troops, at Cambridge, Mass., the entire force then numbering about 15,000 men. It was not until March, 1776, that the siege of Boston ended in the withdrawal of the British forces. Washington's admirable conduct of this siege drew forth the enthusiastic applause of the nation. Congress had a gold medal struck, bearing the effigy of Washington as the Deliverer of Boston.

Hastening to defend New York from threatened attack, Washington there received, on the 9th of July, 1776, a copy of the "Declaration of Independence," adopted by Congress five days previously. On the 27th of the following month occurred the disastrous battle of Long Island, the misfortunes of which were retrieved, however, by Washington's admirable retreat, one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. Again defeated at White Plains, he was compelled to retire across New Jersey. On the 7th of December he passed to the west side of the Delaware, at the head of a dispirited army of less than four thousand effective men, many of them without shoes, and leaving tracks of blood in the snow. This was the darkest period of the war. But suddenly, as if inspired, Washington, in the midst of a driving storm, on Christmas night recrossing the Delaware, now filled with floating ice, gained in rapid succession the brilliant victories of Trenton and Princeton, thus changing

the entire aspect of affairs. Never were victories better timed. The waning hopes of the people in their cause and their commander were at once restored as if by magic.

It is not possible, in this necessarily brief sketch, to give the details of the agonizing struggle in which Washington and his little army were now involved. Superior numbers and equipments often inflicted upon him disasters which would have crushed a less resolute spirit. Cheered, however, by occasional glimpses of victory, and wisely taking advantage of what his troops learned in hardship and defeat, he was at length enabled, by one sagacious and deeply planned movement, to bring the war virtually to a close in the capture of the British army of 7,000 men, under Cornwallis, at Yorktown, on the 19th of October, 1781.

The tidings of the surrender of Cornwallis filled the country with joy. The lull in the activity of both Congress and the people was not viewed with favor by Washington. It was a period of peril. Idleness in the army fostered discontents there, which at one time threatened the gravest mischief. It was only by the utmost exertion that Washington induced the malcontents to turn a deaf ear to those who were attempting, as he alleged, "to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire with blood."

On September 3d, 1783, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris, by which the complete independence of the United States was secured. On the 23d of December following, Washington formally resigned his command. The very next morning he hastened to his beloved Mount Vernon, arriving there that evening, in time to enjoy the festivities which there greeted him.

Washington was not long permitted to enjoy his retirement. Indeed, his solicitude for the perpetuity of the political fabric he had helped to raise he could not have shaken off if he would. Unconsciously, it might have been, by his letters to his old friends still in public life, he continued to exercise a powerful influence on national affairs. He was one of the first to propose a remodeling of the Articles of Confederation, which were now acknowledged to be insufficient for their purpose. At length, a convention of delegates from the several States, to form a new Constitution, met at Philadelphia, in May, 1787. Washington presided over its session, which was long and stormy. After four months of deliberation was formed that Constitution under which, with some subsequent amendments, we now live.

When the new Constitution was finally ratified, Washington was called to the Presidency by the unanimous voice of the people. In April, 1789, he set out from Mount Vernon for New York, then the seat of Government, to be inaugurated.

"His progress," says Irving, "was a continuous ovation. The ringing of bells and the roaring of cannon proclaimed his course. Old and young, women and children, thronged the highways to bless and welcome him." His inauguration took place April 30th, 1789, before an immense multitude.

The eight years of Washington's Administration were years of trouble and difficulty. The two parties which had sprung up—the Federalist and the Republican—were greatly embittered against each other, each charging the other with the most unpatriotic designs. No other man than Washington could have carried the country safely through so perilous a period. His prudent, firm, yet conciliatory spirit, aided by the love and veneration with which the people regarded him, kept down insurrection and silenced discontent.

That he passed through this trying period safely cannot but be a matter of astonishment. The angry partisan contests, to which we have referred, were of themselves sufficient to dishearten any common man. Even Washington was distrustful of the event, so fiercely were the partisans of both parties enlisted—the Federalists clamoring for a stronger government, the Republicans for additional checks on the power already intrusted to the Executive. Besides, the Revolution then raging in France became a source of contention. The Federalists sided with England,

who was bent on crushing that Revolution, the Republicans, on the other hand, sympathized deeply with the French people: so that between them both, it was with extreme difficulty that the President could prevent our young Republic, burdened with debt, her people groaning under taxes necessarily heavy, and with finances, commerce, and the industrial arts in a condition of chaos, from being dragged into a fresh war with either France or England.

But, before retiring from the Presidency, Washington had the happiness of seeing many of the difficulties from which he had apprehended so much, placed in a fair way of final adjustment. A financial system was developed which lightened the burden of public debt and revived the drooping energies of the people. The country progressed rapidly. Immigrants flocked to our shores, and the regions west of the Alleghanies began to fill up. New States claimed admission and were received into the Union—Vermont, in 1791; Kentucky, in 1792; and Tennessee, in 1796; so that, before the close of Washington's second term, the original thirteen States had increased to sixteen.

Having served two Presidential terms, Washington, declining another election, returned once more to Mount Vernon, "that haven of repose to which he had so often turned a wistful eye," bearing with him the love and gratitude of his countrymen, to whom, in his memorable "Farewell Ad-

dress," he bequeathed a legacy of practical political wisdom which it will be well for them to remember and profit by. In this immortal document he insisted that the union of the States was "a main pillar" in the real independence of the people. He also entreated them to "steer clear of any permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

At Mount Vernon Washington found constant occupation in the supervision of his various estates. It was while taking his usual round on horseback to look after his farms, that, on the 12th of December, 1799, he encountered a cold, winter storm. He reached home chill and damp. The next day he had a sore throat, with some hoarseness. By the morning of the 14th he could scarcely swallow. "I find I am going," said he to a friend. "I believed from the first that the attack would be fatal." That night, between ten and eleven, he expired, without a struggle or a sigh, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, his disease being acute laryngitis. Three days afterward his remains were deposited in the family tombs at Mount Vernon, where they still repose.

Washington left a reputation on which there is no stain. "His character," says Irving, "possessed fewer inequalities, and a rarer union of virtues than perhaps ever fell to the lot of one man.
* * * It seems as if Providence had endowed him in a pre-eminent degree with the qualities

requisite to fit him for the high destiny he was called upon to fulfill."

In stature Washington was six feet two inches in height, well proportioned, and firmly built. His hair was brown, his eyes blue and set far apart. From boyhood he was famous for great strength and agility. Jefferson pronounced him "the best horseman of his age, and the most graceful figure that could be seen on horseback." He was scrupulously neat, gentlemanly, and punctual, and always dignified and reserved.

In the resolution passed upon learning of his death, the National House of Representatives described him for the first time in that well-known phrase, "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen,"—a tribute which succeeding generations have continued to bestow upon Washington without question or doubt. By common consent to him is accorded as pre-eminently appropriate the title, "*Pater Patriæ*,"—the "Father of his Country."

Of Washington, Lord Brougham says: "It will be the duty of the historian and the sage, in all ages, to omit no occasion of commemorating this illustrious man; and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."

JOHN ADAMS,

SECOND President of the United States, was born at Braintree, now Quincy, Mass., October 19th, 1735. He was the eldest son of John Adams, a farmer, and Susanna Boylston. Graduating from Harvard in 1755, he studied law, defraying his expenses by teaching. In 1764, having meanwhile been admitted to the bar, he married Miss Abigail Smith, a lady whose energy of character contributed largely to his subsequent advancement.

As early as 1761, we find young Adams looking forward, with prophetic vision, to American Independence. When the memorable Stamp Act was passed in 1765, he joined heart and soul in opposition to it. A series of resolutions which he drew up against it and presented to the citizens of Braintree was adopted also by more than forty other towns in the Province. He took the advanced grounds that it was absolutely void—Parliament having no right to tax the Colonies.

In 1768 he removed to Boston. The rise of the young lawyer was now rapid, and he was the leading man in many prominent cases. When, in September, 1774, the first Colonial Congress met, at Philadelphia, Adams was one of the five Delegates from Massachusetts. In that Congress he took a prominent part. He it was who, on the 6th of

May, 1776, boldly advanced upon the path of Independence, by moving "the adoption of such measures as would best conduce to the happiness and safety of the American people." It was Adams, who, a month later, seconded the resolution of Lee, of Virginia, "that these United States are, and of right ought to be, independent." It was he who uttered the famous words, "Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, with my country is my unalterable determination." He, too, it was, who, with Jefferson, Franklin, Sherman, and Livingston, drew up that famous "Declaration of Independence," which, adopted by Congress on the 4th of July, 1776, decided a question, "greater, perhaps, than ever was or will be decided anywhere." During all these years of engrossing public duty he produced many able essays on the rights of the Colonies. These appeared in the leading journals of the day and exerted wide influence. The motion to prepare a Declaration of Independence was opposed by a strong party, to the champion of which Adams made reply and Jefferson said, "John Adams was the ablest advocate and champion of independence on the floor of the House."

Writing to his wife on July 3d, 1776, and referring to the Declaration of Independence, that day adopted, he forecast the manner of that day's celebration by bonfires, fireworks, etc., as "the great anniversary festival." During all the years



HENRY WATTERSON.

of the war he was a most zealous worker and valued counselor. After its years of gloom and trial, on the 21st of January, 1783, he assisted in the conclusion of a treaty of peace, by which Great Britain acknowledged the complete independence of the United States. On the previous October, he had achieved what he ever regarded as the greatest success of his life—the formation of a treaty of peace and alliance with Holland, which had a most important bearing on the negotiations leading to the final adjustment with England.

He was United States Minister to England from 1785 to 1788, and Vice-President during both the terms of Washington. During these years, as presiding officer of the Senate, he gave no less than twenty casting votes, all of them on questions of great importance, and all supporting the policy of the President. Mr. Adams was himself inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1797, having been elected over Jefferson by a small majority. Thomas Pinckney was nominated for the Vice-Presidency with him, they representing the Federal party, but in the Electoral College Thomas Jefferson received the choice and became Vice-President. He retained as his Cabinet the officers previously chosen by Washington.

He came into office at a critical period. The conduct of the French Directory, in refusing to receive our ambassadors, and in trying to injure

our commerce by unjust decrees, excited intense ill-feeling, and finally led to what is known as "the Quasi War" with France. Congress now passed the so-called "Alien and Sedition Laws," by which extraordinary and, it is alleged, unconstitutional powers were conferred upon the President. Though the apprehended war was averted, the odium of these laws effectually destroyed the popularity of Adams, who, on running for a second term, was defeated by Mr. Jefferson, representing the Republicans, who were the Democratic party of that day. On the 4th of March, 1801, he retired to private life on his farm near Quincy. His course as President had brought upon him the reproaches of both parties, and his days were ended in comparative obscurity and neglect. He lived to see his son, John Quincy Adams, in the Presidential chair.

By a singular coincidence, the death of Mr. Adams and that of his old political rival, Jefferson, took place on the same day, and almost at the same hour. Stranger still, it was on July the 4th, 1826, whilst bells were ringing and cannon roaring to celebrate the fiftieth Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, their own immortal production, that these two men passed away. Mr. Adams was asked if he knew what day it was. "Oh! yes!" he exclaimed, "It is the Fourth of July. God bless it! God bless you all! It is a great and glorious day!" and soon after quietly expired, in the ninety-first year of his age.

Mr. Adams possessed a vigorous and polished intellect, and was one of the most upright of men. His character was one to command respect, rather than to win affection. There was a certain lack of warmth in his stately courtesy which seemed to forbid approach. Yet nobody, we are told, could know him intimately without admiring the simplicity and truth which shone in all his actions.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, who succeeded Adams as President, was born at Shadwell, Albermarle County, Va., April 2d, 1743. Peter Jefferson, his father, was a man of great force of character and of remarkably powerful physique. His mother, Jane Randolph, was from a most respectable English family. He was the eldest of eight children. He became a classical student when a mere boy, and entered college in an advanced class when but seventeen years of age. Having passed through college, he studied law under Judge Wythe, and in 1767 commenced practice. In 1769, he was elected to the Virginia Legislature. Three years later, he married Mrs. Martha Skelton, a rich, handsome, and accomplished young widow, with whom he went to reside in his new mansion at Monticello, near to the spot where he was born. His practice at the bar grew

rapidly and became very lucrative, and he early engaged in the political affairs of his own State.

For years the breach between England and her Colonies had been rapidly widening. Jefferson earnestly advocated the right of the latter to local self-government, and wrote a pamphlet on the subject which attracted much attention on both sides of the Atlantic. By the spring of 1775 the Colonies were in revolt. We now find Jefferson in the Continental Congress—the youngest member save one. His arrival had been anxiously awaited. He had the reputation “of a matchless pen.” Though silent on the floor, in committee “he was prompt, frank, explicit, and decisive.” Early in June, 1776, a committee, with Jefferson as chairman, was appointed to draw up a “Declaration of Independence.” Unanimously urged by his associates to write it, he did so, Franklin and Adams, only, making a few verbal alterations. Jefferson has been charged with plagiarism in the composition of this ever-memorable paper. Volumes have been written on the subject; but those who have investigated the closest, declare that the Mecklenburg Declaration, from which he was charged with plagiarism, was not then in existence. Jefferson distinctly denies having seen it. Probably, in preparing it, he used many of the popular phrases of the time; and hence it was that it seized so quickly and so irresistibly upon the public heart. It was the crystallized expression

of the spirit of the age. Edward Everett pronounced this Declaration "equal to anything ever born on parchment or expressed in the visible signs of thought." Bancroft declares, "The heart of Jefferson in writing it, and of Congress in adopting it, beat for all humanity."

Chosen a second time to Congress, Jefferson declined the appointment, in order that he might labor in re-organizing Virginia. He therefore accepted a seat in the Legislature, where he zealously applied himself to revising the fundamental laws of the State. The abolition of primogeniture and the Church establishment was the result of his labors, and he was justly proud of it. No more important advance could have been made. It was a step from middle-age darkness into the broad light of modern civilization.

In 1778, Jefferson procured the passage of a law prohibiting the further importation of slaves. The following year he was elected Governor, succeeding Patrick Henry in this honorable position, and at the close of his official term he again sought the retirement of Monticello. In 1782, shortly after the death of his beloved wife, he was summoned to act as one of the Commissioners to negotiate peace with England. He was not required to sail, however; but, taking a seat in Congress, during the winter of 1783, he, who had drawn up the Declaration of Independence, was the first to officially announce its final triumph.

At the next session of Congress, he secured the adoption of our present admirable system of coinage. As chairman of a committee to draft rules for the government of our Northwest Territory he endeavored, but without success, to secure the prohibition of slavery therefrom forever. In May, 1784, he was sent to Europe, to assist Adams and Franklin in negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign nations. Returning home in 1789, he received from Washington the appointment of Secretary of State, which office he resigned in 1793. He withdrew, says Marshall, "at a time when he stood particularly high in the esteem of his countrymen." His friendship for France, and his dislike of England; his warm opposition to the aggrandizement of the central power of the Government, and his earnest advocacy of every measure tending to enlarge popular freedom, had won for him a large following, and he now stood the acknowledged leader of the great and growing Anti-federal party.

Washington declining a third term, Adams, as we have already seen, succeeded him, Jefferson becoming Vice-President. At the next election, Jefferson and Burr, the Republican candidates, stood highest on the list. By the election law of that period, he who had the greatest number of votes was to be President, while the Vice-Presidency fell to the next highest candidate. Jefferson and Burr having an equal number of votes,

it remained for the House of Representatives to decide which should be President. After a long and heated canvass, Jefferson was chosen on the thirty-sixth ballot. He was inaugurated, on the 4th of March, 1801, at Washington, whither the Capitol had been removed a few months previously. In 1804, he was re-elected by an overwhelming majority. At the close of his second term, he retired once more to the quiet of Monticello.

The most important public measure of Jefferson's Administration, to the success of which he directed his strongest endeavors, was the purchase from France, for the insignificant sum of \$15,000,000, of the immense Territory of Louisiana. It was during his Administration, too, that the conspiracy of Burr was discovered, and thwarted by the prompt and decisive action of the President. Burr's scheme was a mad one—to break up the Union, and erect a new empire, with Mexico as its seat. Jefferson is regarded as having initiated the custom of removing incumbents from office on political grounds alone.

From the retirement into which he withdrew at the end of his second term, Jefferson never emerged. His time was actively employed in the management of his property and in his extensive correspondence. In establishing a University at Charlottesville, Jefferson took a deep interest, devoting to it much of his time and means,

He was proud of his work, and directed that the words "Father of the University of Virginia" should be inscribed upon his tomb. He died, shortly after mid-day, on the Fourth of July, 1826, a few hours before his venerable friend and compatriot, Adams.

Jefferson was the very embodiment of the democracy he sought to make the distinctive feature of his party. All titles were distasteful to him, even the prefix Mr. His garb and manners were such that the humblest farmer was at home in his society. He declared that in view of the existence of slavery he "trembled for his country when he remembered that God is just." He was of splendid physique, being six feet two and a half inches in height, but well built and sinewy. His hair was of a reddish brown, his countenance ruddy, his eyes light hazel. Both he and his wife were wealthy, but they spent freely and died insolvent, leaving but one daughter.

His moral character was of the highest order. Profanity he could not endure, either in himself or others. He never touched cards, or strong drink in any form. He was one of the most generous of men, lavishly hospitable, and in everything a thorough gentleman. Gifted with an intellect far above the average, he had added to it a surprising culture, which ranked him among our most accomplished scholars. To his extended learning, to his ardent love of lib-

erty, and to his broad and tolerant views, is due much, very much, of whatever is admirable in our institutions. In them we discern everywhere traces of his master spirit.

JAMES MADISON.

WHEN Mr. Jefferson retired from the Presidency, the country was almost on the verge of war with Great Britain. Disputes had arisen in regard to certain restrictions laid by England upon our commerce. A hot discussion also came up about the right claimed and exercised by the commanders of English war-vessels, of searching American ships and of taking from them such seamen as they might choose to consider natives of Great Britain. Many and terrible wrongs had been perpetrated in the exercise of this alleged right. Hundreds of American citizens had been ruthlessly forced into the British service.

It was when the public mind was agitated by such outrages, that James Madison, the fourth President of the United States, was inaugurated. When he took his seat, on the 4th of March, 1809, he lacked but a few days of being fifty-eight years of age, having been born on the 15th of March, 1751. His father was Colonel James Madison, his mother Nellie Conway. He gradu-

ated at Princeton College, New Jersey, in 1771, after which he studied law.

In his twenty-sixth year he had been a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Virginia; in 1780 had been elected to the Continental Congress, in which he at once took a commanding position; had subsequently entered the Virginia Legislature, where he co-operated with his friend and neighbor, Jefferson, in the abrogation of entail and primogeniture, and in the establishment of religious freedom; had drawn up the call in answer to which the Convention to Draught a Constitution for the United States met at Philadelphia in 1787, and had been one of the most active members of that memorable assemblage in reconciling the discordant elements of which it was composed. He had also labored earnestly to secure the adoption of the new Constitution by his native State; had afterward entered Congress; and when Jefferson became President, in March, 1801, had been by him appointed Secretary of State, a post he had declined when it was vacated by Jefferson in December, 1793. In this important post for eight years, he won the highest esteem and confidence of the nation. Having been nominated by the Republicans, he was in 1808 elected to the Presidency, receiving one hundred and twenty-two electoral votes, while Charles C. Pinckney, the Federal candidate, received but forty-seven.

In 1794, he married Mrs. Dorothy Todd, a young widow lady, whose bright intelligence and fascinating manners were to gain her celebrity as one of the most remarkable women who ever presided over the domestic arrangements of the Presidential Mansion.

Of a weak and delicate constitution, and with the habits of a student, Mr. Madison would have preferred peace to war. But even he lost patience at the insults heaped upon the young Republic by its ancient mother; and when, at length, on the 18th of June, 1812, Congress declared war against Great Britain, he gave the declaration his official sanction, and took active steps to enforce it. Though disasters in the early part of the war greatly strengthened the Federal party, who were bitterly opposed to hostilities, the ensuing Presidential canvass resulted in the re-election of Mr. Madison by a large majority, his competitor, De Witt Clinton, receiving eighty-nine electoral votes to one hundred and twenty-eight for Madison. On the 12th of August, 1814, a British army took Washington, the President himself narrowly escaping capture. The Presidential Mansion, the Capitol, and all the public buildings were wantonly burned. The 14th of December following, a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, in which, however, England did not relinquish her claim to the right of search. But as she has not since attempted to exercise it, the question may be regarded as having been finally settled by the contest.

On the 4th of March, 1817, Madison's second term having expired, he withdrew to private life at his paternal home of Montpelier, Orange County, Va. During his administration, two new States had been added to the Union, making the total number at this period nineteen. The first to claim admittance was Louisiana, in 1812. It was formed out of the Southern portion of the vast Territory, purchased, during the Presidency of Jefferson, from France. Indiana—the second State—was admitted in 1816.

After his retirement from office, Mr. Madison passed nearly a score of quiet years at Montpelier. With Jefferson, who was a not very distant neighbor, he co-operated in placing the Charlottesville University upon a substantial foundation. In 1829, he left his privacy to take part in the Convention which met at Richmond to revise the Constitution of the State. His death took place on the 28th of June, 1836, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

JAMES MONROE.

MADISON'S successor in the Presidential chair was James Monroe, whose Administration has been called "the Era of Good Feeling," from the temporary subsidence at that time of party strife. He was a son of Spence Monroe, a planter. He was born on his father's

plantation in Westmoreland County, Va., on the 28th of April, 1758. At the age of sixteen he entered William and Mary College; but when, two years later, the Declaration of Independence called the Colonies to arms, the young collegian, dropping his books, girded on his sword, and entered the service of his country. Commissioned a lieutenant, he took part in the battles of Harlem Heights and White Plains. In the attack on Trenton he was wounded in the shoulder, and for his bravery promoted to a captaincy. Subsequently he was attached to the staff of Lord Sterling with the rank of major, and fought by the side of Lafayette, when that officer was wounded at the battle of Brandywine, and also participated in the battles of Germantown and Monmouth. He was afterward given a colonel's commission, but, being unable to recruit a regiment, began the study of law in the office of Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia.

When only about twenty-three years old, he was elected to the Virginia Legislature. The next year he was sent to Congress. On the expiration of his term, having meanwhile married, in New York, Miss Kortright, a young lady of great intelligence and rare personal attractions, he returned to Fredericksburg, and commenced practice as a lawyer. He espoused the cause of the Anti-Federal or Republican party, being thoroughly democratic in his ideas, as was his eminent

preceptor, Jefferson. In 1789, he was elected to the United States Senate. In 1794, he was appointed minister-plenipotentiary to France, but recalled from his mission two years later because of his outspoken sympathies with the republicans of that country.

Shortly after his return, Monroe was elected Governor of Virginia, which post he held for three years (1799-1802). On the expiration of his official term, he was sent to co-operate with Edward Livingston, then resident Minister at Paris, in negotiating the treaty by which the Territory of Louisiana was secured to the United States. In 1811, he was again elected Governor of Virginia, but presently resigned to become Madison's Secretary of State.

During the period following the capture of Washington, September, 1814-March, 1815, he acted as Secretary of War, and did much to restore the nation's power and credit. He continued Secretary of State until March, 1817, when he became President. He was chosen by the Democratic party, till then known as the Republican. He received one hundred and eighty-three electoral votes, his opponent, Rufus King, receiving but thirty-four votes. The violence of party spirit greatly abated during his first term, and he was re-elected in 1821, with but one dissenting vote out of the two hundred and thirty-two cast by the electoral college. On the 4th of March, 1825, he

retired to the quiet and seclusion of his estate at Oak Hill, in Loudon County, Virginia.

During Monroe's Administration, the boundaries of the United States were considerably enlarged by the purchase of Florida from Spain. Five new States were also admitted into the Union: Mississippi, in 1817; Illinois, in 1818; Alabama, in 1819; Maine, in 1820; and Missouri, in 1821.

The discussion in Congress over the admission of Missouri showed the existence of a new disturbing element in our national politics. It was the question of the further extension of slavery; not so much in regard to its moral aspects as to its bearing on the question of the balance of political power. For a brief period two parties, one in favor of and the other against admitting any more Slave States, filled Congress and the country with angry discussion. This was quieted for the time by what is known as "the Missouri Compromise," which restricted slavery to the territory lying south of the southern boundary of Missouri.

The somewhat celebrated "Monroe Doctrine" is regarded as one of the most important results of Monroe's Administration. It was enunciated in his message to Congress on the 2d of December, 1823, and arose out of his sympathy for the new Republics then recently set up in South America. In substance it was, that the United States would never entangle themselves with the

quarrels of Europe, nor allow Europe to interfere with the affairs of this continent.

In 1830, the venerable ex-President went to reside with his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, in New York, where he died in the seventy-fourth year of his age, on the 4th of July, 1831, being the third of our five Revolutionary Presidents to pass from earth on the anniversary of that memorable day, which had contributed so largely to the shaping of their destinies.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

THE son of John Adams, our second President, and himself the sixth chief executive of the Union, was born at Quincy, Mass., on the 11th of July, 1767. He enjoyed rare opportunities for culture from his mother, who was a lady of very superior talents. While yet a mere boy, he twice accompanied his father to Europe, and at the age of fourteen was appointed private secretary to Francis Dana, then Minister to Russia. Graduating from Harvard in 1788, he studied law under Theophilus Parsons, and commenced practice in Boston in 1791. In 1794, he was appointed by Washington Minister to Holland. In July, 1797, he married Louisa, daughter of Joshua Johnson, then American Consul at London. In 1797, his father, who was then President, gave him the mission to Berlin, being urged to this



GOVERNOR HORACE BOIES,
Iowa's Candidate for Nomination in 1892.

recognition of his own son by Washington, who pronounced the younger Adams "the most valuable public character we have abroad."

On the accession of Jefferson to the Presidency, Mr. Adams was recalled from Berlin. Soon after his return, however, he was elected to the United States Senate, where he speedily won a commanding position, ardently supporting Jefferson's measures of resistance against the arrogance and insolence of England in her encroachments upon our commerce and in her impressment of our seamen. The Legislature of Massachusetts having censured him for his course, Adams resigned his seat; but, in 1809, was selected by Madison to represent the United States at St. Petersburg. On the 24th of December, 1814, he, in conjunction with Clay and Gallatin, concluded the Treaty of Ghent, which closed "the Second War of Independence." In 1817, he was recalled to act as Secretary of State for President Monroe.

At the election for Monroe's successor, in 1824, party spirit ran high. The contest was an exciting one. Of the two hundred and sixty electoral votes, Andrew Jackson received 99, John Quincy Adams 84, Wm. H. Crawford 41, and Henry Clay 37. As there was no choice by the people, the election devolved upon the House of Representatives. Here Mr. Clay gave the vote of Kentucky to Adams, and otherwise promoted his cause, so that he received the votes of thirteen States, and was elected.

The Administration of the younger Adams has been characterized as the purest and most economical on record. Yet, during his entire term, he was the object of the most rancorous partisan assaults. He had appointed Clay as his Secretary of State, whereat the Jackson men accused them both of "bargaining and corruption," and in all ways disparaged and condemned their work. In his official intercourse, it was said Adams often displayed "a formal coldness which froze like an iceberg." This coldness of manner, along with his advocacy of a high protective tariff and the policy of internal improvements, and his known hostility to slavery, made him many bitter enemies, especially in the South, and at the close of his first term he was probably the most unpopular man who could have aspired to the Presidency; and yet, in his contest with Jackson at that time, Adams received eighty-three electoral votes, Jackson being chosen by one hundred and seventy-eight.

On the 4th of March, 1829, General Jackson having been elected President, Mr. Adams retired to private life; but, in 1831, was elected to the House of Representatives of the United States, where he took his seat, pledged, as he said, to no party. He at once became the leader of that little band, so insignificant in numbers, but powerful in determination and courage, who, regarding slavery as both a moral and a political

evil, began, in Congress, to advocate its abolition. By his continual presentation of petitions against slavery, he gradually yet irresistibly led the public mind to familiarize itself with the idea of its final extinction. To the fiery onslaughts of the Southern members he opposed a cold and unimpassioned front.

In 1842, to show his consistency in upholding the right of petition, he presented to Congress the petition of some thirty or forty over-zealous anti-slavery persons for the dissolution of the Union. This brought upon the venerable ex-President a perfect tempest of indignation. Resolutions to expel him were introduced; but, after eleven days of stormy discussion, they were laid on the table. The intrepidity displayed by "the old man eloquent" was beginning to tell. Even those who most bitterly opposed his doctrines were learning to respect him. When, after a season of illness, he re-appeared in Congress, in February, 1847, every member instinctively rose in his seat to do the old man honor. On the 21st of February, 1848, Mr. Adams was struck down by paralysis on the floor of the House of Representatives. He was taken, senseless, into an ante room. Recovering his consciousness, he looked calmly around, and said: "This is the last of earth: I am content." These were his last words. In an apartment beneath the dome of the Capitol he expired, on February 23d, in the eighty-first year of his age.

ANDREW JACKSON,

SEVENTH President of the United States, was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, on the 15th of March, 1767. His father, who was a poor Irishman, dying a few days before Andrew's birth, he and his two older brothers were left to the care of his mother. The boys had little schooling. Andrew was a rude, turbulent lad, at once vindictive and generous, full of mischief, but resolute, of indomitable courage, and wonderfully self-reliant. When but thirteen, fired by the death of his oldest brother, who had perished from heat and exhaustion at the Battle of Stono, he shouldered a musket and took part in the War of Independence. He and his remaining brother were made prisoners by the British, but were soon released through the exertions of their mother. It was during this captivity that Andrew received a wound from a British officer for refusing to black the boots of that dignitary. Both the released boys were soon sent home with the small-pox, of which the elder died, and Andrew barely escaped death. The mother went next, dying of ship fever, contracted while attending upon the patriot prisoners at Charleston. Thus left an orphan, Andrew worked a short time in a saddler's shop. He then tried school-teaching, and finally studied law, being

admitted to practice when but twenty years old. At that time he was very commanding in appearance, being six feet one inch in height, and distinguished for courage and activity.

In 1791, Jackson married, at Nashville, where he had built up a lucrative practice, Mrs. Rachel Robards, the divorced wife, as both he and the lady herself supposed, of Mr. Lewis Robards. They had lived together two years, when it was discovered that Mrs. Robards was not fully divorced at the time of her second marriage. As, however, the divorce had subsequently been perfected, the marriage ceremony was performed anew, in 1794. In after years, this unfortunate mistake was made the basis of many calumnious charges against Jackson by his partisan enemies.

Tennessee having been made a State in 1796, Jackson was successively its Representative and Senator in Congress, and a Judge of its Supreme Court. Resigning his judgeship in 1804, he entered into and carried on for a number of years an extensive trading business. He was also elected at this period major-general in the militia. In 1806 he was severely wounded in a duel with Charles Dickenson, who had been making disparaging remarks against his wife, something which Jackson could neither forget nor forgive. Dickenson fell mortally wounded, and, after suffering intense agony for a short time, died. This

sad affair, in which Jackson displayed much vindictiveness, made him for awhile very unpopular.

When, in 1812, war was declared against England, Jackson promptly offered his services to the General Government. During the summer of 1813 he had another of those personal rencontres into which his fiery temper was continually leading him. In an affray with Thomas H. Benton, he received a pistol-shot in the shoulder at the hands of Benton's brother, from the effects of which he never fully recovered. He was still suffering from the immediate consequences of this wound, when tidings were received at Nashville of the massacre at Fort Mimms by Creek Indians. Jackson, regardless of his wounds, at once took the field. An energetic campaign, in which, winning victory after victory, he established his reputation as one of our best military chieftains, ended the Creek War, and broke forever the power of the Indian races in North America.

In May, 1814, Jackson was made a major-general in the regular army and became the acknowledged military leader in the Southwest. New Orleans being threatened by the British, he hastened to defend it. There, on the 8th of January, 1815, with less than five thousand men, mostly untrained militia, he repulsed the attack of a well-appointed army of nearly fourteen thousand veteran troops, under some of the most distinguished officers in the English service. Generals Paken-

ham and Gibbs, of the British forces, were killed, together with seven hundred of their men, fourteen hundred more being wounded and five hundred taken prisoners. Jackson lost but eight killed and fourteen wounded. Ten days later the enemy withdrew, leaving many of their guns behind them. The full glory of Jackson's triumph at New Orleans partisan rancor subsequently sought to dim. But high military authorities, even in England, have sustained the popular judgment that it was a brilliant victory, achieved by rare foresight, wise conduct, and undoubted warlike genius.

Jackson's success at New Orleans gave him immense popularity. He received a vote of thanks from Congress, was made Commander-in-chief of the southern division of the army, and even began to be talked of as a candidate for the Presidency. President Monroe offered him the post of Secretary of War. In the Seminole War, which commenced about the close of 1817, he took the field in person. He was successful, with but little fighting. His execution of Arbuthnot and Armbruster, two British subjects, found guilty by a military court of inciting the Indians to hostilities, caused an angry discussion between England and the United States which at one time threatened to end in open rupture. In Congress, also, it excited a warm debate; but resolutions censuring the General were rejected by the

House, and came to no conclusion in the Senate.

When Spain ceded Florida to the Union, Jackson was appointed Governor of the Territory. In 1823 he was elected to the United States Senate by the Legislature of Tennessee, which, at the same time, nominated him for the Presidency. This nomination, though ridiculed on account of Jackson's alleged unfitness for the office, nevertheless resulted, at the ensuing election, in his receiving more votes than any other single candidate; but the choice devolving on the House of Representatives, Adams, as we have seen, was elected. For Henry Clay's part in this success of Adams, Jackson became his bitter enemy, stigmatizing him as the "Judas of the West." In the next campaign, however, Jackson achieved a decided triumph, having a majority of eighty-three out of two hundred and sixty-one electoral votes.

In retaliation for the bitter personal attacks he had received during the campaign, Jackson commenced a wholesale political proscription of his partisan opponents. Adopting the war-cry of his Secretary of State, Marcy, of New York, that "to the victors belong the spoils," he initiated that system, ever since so prevalent, of turning out of office every man not on the side of the winning party. His veto of the bill re-chartering the United States Bank, which for a time caused quite a panic in commercial circles, and his determined

stand against the "nullifiers," under the lead of Calhoun, who, with threats of armed resistance, demanded a reduction of the tariff, excited a warm opposition to the President. But, in spite of every effort, the election of 1828 brought him again into the Presidential chair with an overwhelming majority, he receiving two hundred and nineteen electoral votes out of two hundred and eighty-eight, which was then the total number.

On the 10th of December, 1832, Jackson was compelled by the conduct of South Carolina to issue a proclamation threatening to use the army in case of resistance to the execution of the tariff laws; but, fortunately, Mr. Clay succeeded in bringing about a compromise, by which, the tariff being modified, the South Carolinians were enabled to recede from their position with becoming dignity.

Jackson's removal of the deposits, in 1833, caused an intense excitement throughout the country. In Congress, his course was censured by the Senate, but approved by the House. A panic existed for some time in business circles; but before the close of his second term the great mass of the people were content with the President's course.

Jackson's foreign diplomacy had been very successful. Useful commercial treaties were made with several countries and renewed with others. Indemnities for spoliations on American

commerce were obtained from various foreign countries. The national debt was extinguished, the Cherokees were removed from Georgia and the Creeks from Florida, while the original number of the States was doubled by the admission into the Union of Arkansas, in 1836, and of Michigan, in 1837. On the other hand, the slavery dispute was renewed with much bitterness, and the Seminole War re-commenced.

On the 4th of March, 1837, Jackson retired from public life. He returned to "the Hermitage," his country seat, where he remained until his death, on the 8th of June, 1845. The immediate cause of his death was dropsy; but through the greater part of his life he had been a sufferer from disease in one form or another.

General Jackson has been described as a man of unbounded hospitality. He loved fine horses and had a passion for racing them. "His temper," writes Colonel Benton, "was placable as well as irascible, and his reconciliations were cordial and sincere." He abhorred debt, public as well as private. His love of country was a master passion. "He was a thoroughly honest man, as straightforward in action as his thoughts were unsophisticated." Of book-knowledge he possessed little—scarcely anything; but his vigorous native intelligence and intuitive judgment carried him safely through where the most profound learning without them would have failed.

MARTIN VAN BUREN,

THE eighth chief executive of the Union, was the son of a thrifty farmer in the old town of Kinderhook, in Columbia County, New York, where he was born on the 5th of December, 1782. Early evidencing unusual mental vigor, a good academic education was given to him. Finishing this at the age of fourteen, he then began the study of the law. After seven years of study he was admitted to the bar, and commenced to practice in his native village. His growing reputation and practice warranting him in seeking a wider field, in 1809 he removed to Hudson. In 1812, he was elected to the Senate of New York; and, in 1815, having been appointed Attorney-General of the State, he removed to Albany. In 1821, he was elected to the United States Senate, and was also a member of the Convention to revise the Constitution of New York. He speedily rose to distinction in the National Senate, and, in 1827, was re-elected to that body, but the year following resigned his seat to take the position of Governor of New York.

In 1829, General Jackson, whose election to the Presidency was no doubt due in a great measure to the shrewd political management of Van Buren, offered him the post of Secretary of State.

In 1831, circumstances making it necessary for Jackson to re-organize his Cabinet, Van Buren resigned his Secretaryship, but was immediately named Minister to England. The Senate, however, greatly to the President's dissatisfaction, refused to confirm the nomination, though Van Buren had already reached London. This rejection of his friend aroused all of Jackson's determined spirit. He not only succeeded in placing Mr. Van Buren in the Vice-Presidency during his own second term, but he also began to work zealously to obtain Van Buren's nomination as his successor in the Presidency. He triumphed, and his friend received the Democratic nomination, and was elected by a handsome majority, taking his seat in the Presidential chair on the 4th of March, 1837.

Shortly after Van Buren's inauguration, a financial panic, ascribed to General Jackson's desire to make specie the currency of the country, and his consequent war upon the banks, brought the country to the very verge of ruin. Failures came fast and frequent, and all the great industries of the nation were paralyzed. At the same time, the war in Florida against the Seminoles lingered along, without the slightest apparent prospect of coming to an end, entailing enormous expenses on the Government; while the anti-slavery agitation, growing steadily stronger, excited mobs and violence, and threatened to shake

the Republic from its foundations. Rightly or wrongly, these troubles were attributed to President Van Buren and his party, as resulting from the policy they had pursued. His popularity waned rapidly, and at the Presidential election in 1840, in which he was a candidate for re-election, he was overwhelmingly defeated.

Retiring to Lindenwald, his fine estate near Kinderhook, Van Buren, in 1844, endeavored to procure a re-nomination for the Presidency, but was unsuccessful, though a majority of delegates was pledged to support him. His defeat was due to the opposition of Southern members, based on the fact that he had written a letter adverse to the annexation of Texas.

In 1848, he was brought forward by the Free-soil Democrats. Though not elected, the party which had nominated him showed unexpected strength, nearly three hundred thousand votes having been cast in his favor.

Mr. Van Buren now retired from public life. Fourteen years later, at the age of eighty, on the 24th of July, 1862, he died at Lindenwald. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, of cultivated manners, and genial disposition. Though shrewd, he was not a dishonest politician. His private character was beyond reproach. He deserves a conspicuous position among those who have been worthy successors of our immortal first President.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, ninth President of the United States, was born at Berkeley, on the banks of the James River, in Virginia, on the 9th of February, 1773. His father, Benjamin Harrison, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and for several years Governor of Virginia. Having received a good education at Hampden-Sidney College, young Harrison began the study of medicine; but the barbarities of the savages on our northwestern frontier having excited his sympathies in behalf of the suffering settlers, he determined to enter the army, as being a place where he could do good service. Accordingly, in 1791, shortly after St. Clair's defeat, he obtained from President Washington a commission as ensign in the artillery. Though winter was coming on, he at once set out on foot across the wilderness to Pittsburg, whence he descended the Ohio to Fort Washington, now Cincinnati. He soon became a favorite with his superiors, and by his bravery in battle speedily attained the rank of captain. In 1797, when but twenty-four years old, having recently married, he resigned his commission, to accept the secretaryship of the Northwest Territory. In 1801, he was appointed Governor of "the Indiana Territory," comprising the present

States of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. This office he filled satisfactorily to both whites and Indians for twelve years, during which time he negotiated many excellent treaties.

During the summer of 1811, the Indians of the Northwest, under the lead of the celebrated Tecumseh, and instigated, it is thought, by the emissaries of England, with whom we were upon the point of going to war, broke out into open hostility. Collecting a considerable force of militia and volunteers, Harrison took the field. On the 7th of November, he encountered and defeated Tecumseh on the banks of the Tippecanoe River. This was one of the most hotly contested battles ever fought between the Indians and the whites. Its victorious results added greatly to Harrison's already high reputation; and in 1812, after Hull's ignominious surrender of Detroit, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Army of the Northwest. Invested with almost absolute power, he displayed an energy, sagacity, and courage which justified the confidence reposed in him. By almost superhuman exertions, he managed to collect an army. Perry, on the 10th of September, 1813, having defeated the British fleet on Lake Erie, Harrison, who had been waiting the course of events, now hastened to take the field. Crossing into Canada, he repossessed Detroit, and, pushing on in pursuit of the flying enemy, finally brought them to a stand on the banks of

the Thames. Here, after a brief but sanguinary contest, the British and their savage allies were defeated with heavy loss. Tecumseh, the leading spirit of the Indians, was left dead on the field. Harrison's triumph was complete and decisive.

Shortly after this victory, which gave peace to the Northwest, Harrison, having had some difficulty with the Secretary of War, threw up his commission, but was appointed by the President to negotiate a treaty with the Indians. In 1816, he was elected to the lower house of Congress, where he gained considerable reputation, both as an active working member and as an eloquent and effective speaker. In 1824, he was sent from Ohio to the United States Senate. In 1828, he was appointed by John Quincy Adams Minister to the Republic of Colombia; but President Jackson, who bore him no good-will, the following year recalled him. On his return home, he retired to his farm at North Bend, on the Ohio River, and was presently elected clerk of the Hamilton County Court. In 1836, he was one of the four candidates who ran against Van Buren for the Presidency. Jackson's favorite, as we have seen, came out ahead in this race. But, though Harrison was not elected, there was such evidence of his popularity as to warrant the Whigs in uniting upon him as their candidate in the campaign of 1840.

That campaign was a memorable one. It was, perhaps, the most exciting, yet, at the same time,



CALVIN S. BRICE.

one of the freest from extreme partisan bitterness, of any Presidential canvass ever known. As "the hero of Tippecanoe" and "the log-cabin candidate," which latter phrase was first used in contempt, Harrison swept everything before him, securing two hundred and thirty-four out of the two hundred and ninety-four electoral votes cast, and this, too, in spite of all the efforts of Jackson to prevent his success. His journey to be inaugurated was one continued ovation. His inauguration, which took place on the 4th of March, 1841, was witnessed by a vast concourse of people from all parts of the Union. His address, by the moderation of its tone, and by its plain, practical, common-sense views, confirmed his immense popularity. Selecting for his Cabinet some of the most eminent public men of the country, he began his Administration with the brightest prospects. But, in the midst of these pleasing anticipations, he was suddenly attacked by a fit of sickness, which, in a few days terminated in his death, on the 4th of April, just one month after his inauguration. His last words, spoken in the delirium of fever, were characteristic of the conscientiousness with which he had accepted the responsibilities of the Presidential office. "Sir," he said, as if, conscious of his approaching end, he were addressing his successor, "I wish you to understand the principles of the Government. I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more."

The sudden and unexpected death of President Harrison threw the whole country into mourning. Much had been hoped from him, as one who had the best interests of every portion of the Union at heart. There was a noble simplicity in his character which had won all hearts. Without being brilliant, his was an intellect of solid, substantial worth. He was a frank, guileless-hearted man, of incorruptible integrity, and stands forth among our Presidents, brief as was his official term, as a noble representative of the plain, practical, honest yeomanry of the land. "Not one single spot," says Abbott, "can be found to sully the brightness of his fame; and through all the ages, Americans will pronounce with love and reverence the name of William Henry Harrison."

JOHN TYLER.

ON the death of General Harrison, April 4th, 1841, for the first time in our history the administration of the Government devolved on the Vice-President. The gentleman thus elevated to the Presidency was John Tyler, the son of a wealthy landholder of Virginia, at one time Governor of that State. Born in Charles City County, March 29th, 1790, young Tyler, at the age of seventeen, graduated from William and Mary College with the reputation of

having delivered the best commencement oration ever heard by the faculty. When only nineteen he began to practice law, rising to eminence in his profession with surprising rapidity. Two years later he was elected to the Legislature. After serving five successive terms in the Legislature, he was, in 1816, in 1817, and again in 1819, elected to Congress. Compelled by ill-health to resign his seat in Congress, he was, in 1825, chosen Governor of the State. In 1827, he was elected to the United States Senate over the celebrated John Randolph, of Roanoke.

During the whole of his Congressional career, Mr. Tyler was an earnest advocate of the strict construction doctrines of the then Democratic party, opposing the United States Bank, a protective tariff, internal improvements by the General Government, and, in short, all measures tending to the centralization of power. He was also an ardent opponent of any restrictions upon slavery, and avowed his sympathies with the nullification theories of Calhoun. On this last subject he finally came into the opposition against Jackson. In the session of 1833-'34, he voted for Clay's resolutions censuring Jackson for his removal of the deposits. In 1836, when the Virginia Legislature instructed its representatives in Congress to vote for the rescinding of these resolutions, Mr. Tyler, who had early committed himself to the right of instruction, could not conscientiously

comply with the request of the Legislature, nor hold his seat in disregard of its mandate, and accordingly resigned. In 1838, he was again sent to the Legislature, and, in 1839, we find him a delegate to the Whig National Convention, which, at Harrisburg, nominated Harrison and himself as candidates for President and Vice-President. Of the campaign which followed, and of the subsequent death of Harrison, we have already given an account.

On receiving tidings of the President's death, Mr. Tyler hastened to Washington, and, on the 6th of April, was inaugurated, and he retained all the Cabinet officers Harrison had appointed. Three days later, he issued an inaugural address, which was well received, both by the public and by his partisan friends, who, knowing his antecedents, had been somewhat dubious as to what policy he would pursue. But this was only the calm before the storm. Tyler's veto of the bill for a "fiscal bank of the United States," led to a complete rupture with the party by which he had been elected, who charged him with treachery to his principles. Attempting conciliation, he only displeased the Democrats, who had at first shown a disposition to stand by him, without regaining the favor of the Whigs. In consequence of this course of action, Tyler's Cabinet all resigned, and in their places several Democrats were appointed.

During his Administration several very important measures were adopted. Among them the act establishing a uniform system of bankruptcy, passed in 1841, the tariff law of 1842, and the scheme for the annexation of Texas, which, by the vigorous efforts of the President, was brought to a successful issue by the passage of joint resolutions in Congress, on the 1st of March, 1845, just three days before the close of his term. The formal act of annexation, however, was not passed until a later period. One new State—Florida—was also admitted into the Union under Mr. Tyler's Administration, in 1845.

After his retirement from the Presidency, on the 4th of March, 1845, Mr. Tyler remained in private life at his beautiful home of Sherwood Forest, in Charles City County, till, in 1861, he appeared as a member of the Peace Convention, composed of delegates from the "Border States," which met at Washington to endeavor to arrange terms of compromise between the seceded States and the General Government. Of this Convention, which accomplished nothing, he was president.

Subsequently, Mr. Tyler renounced his allegiance to the United States, and was chosen a member of the Confederate Congress. While acting in this capacity he was taken sick at Richmond, where he died after a brief illness, on the 17th of January, 1862.

JAMES KNOX POLK.

MECKLENBURG County, North Carolina, has the distinction of being the birthplace of two Presidents of the United States—Andrew Jackson and James Knox Polk—the latter of whom was born there on the 2d of November, 1795. Like his friend and neighbor, General Jackson, Mr. Polk was of Scotch-Irish descent. It was his great-uncle, Colonel Thomas Polk, who, on the 19th of May, 1775, read from the steps of the court-house, at Charlotte, that famous "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," to which reference has been made in our sketch of Jefferson. James at a very early age manifested decided literary tastes. After a vain attempt to induce him to become a store-keeper, his father finally consented to his entering the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, from which, in his twenty-third year, he graduated with the highest honors. Studying law at Nashville, Tennessee, where he renewed a former acquaintance with General Jackson, he was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice at Columbia.

In 1823, he was elected to the Legislature of Tennessee, and during the following year was married to Miss Sarah Childress, a beautiful and accomplished young lady, of refined manners and

rare social gifts. In the fall of 1825, he was elected to Congress, where he remained the next fourteen years, during five sessions occupying the responsible and honorable position of Speaker of the House, the duties of which he performed with a dignity and dispassionateness which won for him the warmest encomiums from all parties. In 1839, he was chosen Governor of Tennessee. Again a candidate in 1841, and also in 1843, he was both times defeated,—a result due to one of those periodical revolutions in politics which seem inseparable from republican forms of government, rather than to Mr. Polk's lack of personal popularity.

As the avowed friend of the annexation of Texas, Mr. Polk, in 1844, was nominated by the Democrats for the Presidency. Though he had for his opponent no less a person than the great and popular orator and statesman, Henry Clay, he received one hundred and seventy out of two hundred and seventy-five votes in the electoral college. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845. Three days previously, his predecessor, John Tyler, had signed the joint resolutions of Congress favoring the annexation of Texas to the United States. Consequently, at the very beginning of his Administration, Mr. Polk found the country involved in disputes with Mexico, which, on the formal annexation of Texas, in December, 1845, threatened to result in hostilities between

the two countries. General Zachary Taylor was sent with a small army to occupy the territory stretching from the Neuces to the Rio Grande, which latter stream Texas claimed as her western boundary. Mexico, on the other hand, declaring that Texas had never extended further west than the Neuces, dispatched a force to watch Taylor. A slight collision, in April, 1846, was followed, a few days later, by the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, in which General Taylor was victorious. When the tidings of these battles reached Washington, the President, on May 11th, sent a special message to Congress, declaring "that war existed by the act of Mexico," and asking for men and money to carry it on. Congress promptly voted ten million dollars, and authorized the President to call out fifty thousand volunteers. Hostilities were prosecuted vigorously. An American army, under General Scott, finally fought its way to the capture of the City of Mexico. On the 2d of February, 1848, the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, and ratified by the Senate on the 10th of March following, by which New Mexico and Upper California, comprising a territory of more than half a million square miles, were added to the United States. In return, the United States agreed to pay Mexico fifteen million of dollars, and to assume the debts due by Mexico to citizens of the United States, amounting to three and a half millions more,

Besides Texas, two other States were admitted into the Union during Mr. Polk's Administration. These were Iowa and Wisconsin—the former in 1846 and the latter in 1848.

When the war with Mexico first broke out, negotiations were pending between England and the United States, in regard to Oregon, which we had long deemed a portion of our own territory. "Fifty-four forty [$54^{\circ} 40'$] or fight!" had been one of the Democratic battle-cries during the canvass which resulted in Mr. Polk's election, and he, in his inaugural, had maintained that our title to Oregon was unquestionable. England, however, still urged her claim to the whole country. After considerable negotiation, the President finally, as an amicable compromise, offered the boundary of the parallel of 49° , giving Vancouver's Island to Great Britain. His offer was accepted, and war perhaps avoided. Another important measure of Mr. Polk's Administration was a modification of the tariff, in 1846, by which its former protective features were much lessened.

On his nomination, in 1844, Mr. Polk had pledged himself to the one-term principle. Consequently he was not a candidate for re-election in 1848. Having witnessed the inauguration of his successor, General Taylor, he returned to his home near Nashville. "He was then," says Abbott, but fifty-four years of age. He had ever been strictly temperate in his habits, and his health was

good. With an ample fortune, a choice library, a cultivated mind, and domestic ties of the dearest nature, it seemed as though long years of tranquillity and happiness were before him." But it was not so to be. On his way home he felt premonitory symptoms of cholera, and when he reached there his system was much weakened. Though at first able to work a little in superintending the fitting up of his grounds, he was soon compelled to take to his bed. He never rose from it again. Though finally the disease was checked, he had not strength left to bring on the necessary reaction. "He died without a struggle, simply ceasing to breathe, as when deep and quiet sleep falls upon a weary man," on the 15th of June, 1849, a little more than three months after his retirement from the Presidency. His remains lie in the spacious lawn of his former home in the city of Nashville.

ZACHARY TAYLOR,

TWELFTH President of the United States, was born in Orange County, Virginia, November 24th, 1784. His father, Colonel Richard Taylor, was a noted Revolutionary officer. His mother, as is usually the case with the mothers of men who have risen to distinction, was a woman of great force of character. Whilst he

was yet an infant, his parents removed to the then wilderness near the present city of Louisville. Here in the depths of the forest swarming with hostile savages, young Taylor found few educational advantages, though the training he received was no doubt one to develop those military qualities he subsequently displayed. He grew up a rugged, brave, self-reliant youth, with more of a certain frank, almost blunt, off-handedness, than exterior polish.

In 1808, he received a lieutenant's commission in the army, and in 1810 married Margaret Smith. His military career fairly opened in 1812, when he was sent to the defense of our western border. While in command of Fort Harrison, on the Wabash, with a garrison of but fifty-two men, he was suddenly attacked by a band of Indians, who succeeded in setting fire to the fort. But the young captain with his handful of men extinguished the flames, and forced the enemy to retreat. For this gallant exploit, he received a brevet major's commission.

Nothing remarkable occurred in his life for many years subsequent, until, in 1837, we find him a colonel in Florida, operating against the Seminoles. On Christmas Day of that year he won the battle of Okechobee, one of the most fiercely contested actions in the annals of Indian warfare. The Seminoles never rallied again in formidable numbers. For his signal services in

this affair Taylor was made a brigadier, and appointed Commander-in-chief. This post he retained till 1840, when, having purchased an estate near Baton Rouge, in Louisiana, he was, at his own request, placed in the command of the Department of the Southwest.

While still holding this command in the spring of 1845, Congress having passed joint resolutions for the annexation of Texas, General Taylor was sent with four thousand troops to Corpus Christi, on the west bank of the Neuces, and in territory claimed by both Mexico and Texas. It has been said that it was the secret object of our Government to provoke a conflict with Mexico, yet so that the responsibility of it should appear to rest upon General Taylor. If such was the object, the scheme signally failed. Taylor made no move without explicit orders. It was by the President's positive command that, on the 8th of March, 1846, the wary old General began his march into the disputed district lying between the Neuces and the Rio Grande. Reaching the latter stream on the 28th, he built Fort Brown immediately opposite the Mexican town of Matamoras. On the 12th of March the Mexican commander peremptorily ordered Taylor to retire beyond the Neuces. A refusal to do this, he said, would be regarded as a declaration of war. General Taylor replied that his instructions would not permit him to retire, and that if the Mexicans saw fit to com-

mence hostilities he would not shrink from the conflict. Six thousand Mexicans at once crossed the Rio Grande. With less than three thousand troops, Taylor, on the 8th of April, attacked and defeated them at Palo Alto. Rallying in a strong position at Resaca de la Palma, the Mexicans were again attacked, and after a stubborn fight driven back across the river with great loss. These victories were hailed with the wildest enthusiasm throughout the country, and Taylor was promoted to a major-generalship.

Moving rapidly forward to Monterey, he took that strongly fortified city, after a desperate fight of three days. Making it his headquarters, the victor was preparing for an important move, when General Scott, who was about to lead an expedition against Vera Cruz, took away the best part of his troops, leaving him with only five thousand men, mostly raw volunteers. Hearing of this, Santa Anna, undoubtedly the ablest of the Mexican generals, with twenty thousand picked men, pushed rapidly down the Rio Grande with the design of overpowering Taylor's little army. The latter, on the 21st of February, 1847, took position at Buena Vista and awaited the approach of his antagonist, who made his appearance the following day, and at once began a fierce attack. Never was battle fought with more desperate courage or greater skill. Three times during the day victory seemed with the Mexicans; but finally the

stubborn valor of Taylor's little band won the field.

The tidings of this brilliant victory excited the greatest enthusiasm and gained an imperishable renown for the triumphant General. On his return home in November, "Old Rough and Ready," as his soldiers familiarly called him, was greeted everywhere by the warmest demonstrations of popular applause. Even before this he had been nominated at public meetings for the Presidency; and now the Whigs, casting about for a popular candidate, made him their party nominee. Notwithstanding the defection from their ranks of Henry Wilson and others, who were opposed to Taylor as being a slave-holder, he was elected by a respectable majority, receiving one hundred and sixty-three electoral votes. His inauguration took place on Monday, March 5th, 1849.

Though he selected an excellent Cabinet, the old soldier found himself in a trying position. A vehement struggle had commenced in Congress about the organization of the new Territories, the admission of California, and the settlement of the boundary between Texas and New Mexico, all these questions being connected with the great and absorbing one of the extension or non-extension of slavery. Taylor, in his message to Congress, recommended the admission of California as a free State, and that the remaining Territories should be allowed to form State Con-

stitutions to suit themselves. Nothing could have been more distasteful to the extremists of the South, many of whom made open threats of secession in case of the adoption of the President's suggestions. To adjust the difficulty, Mr. Clay, in the Senate, introduced his "compromise measures," which were still under debate, when, on the 4th of July, 1850, General Taylor was seized with bilious fever, of which he died on the 9th at the Presidential Mansion. His last words were: "I have tried to do my duty."

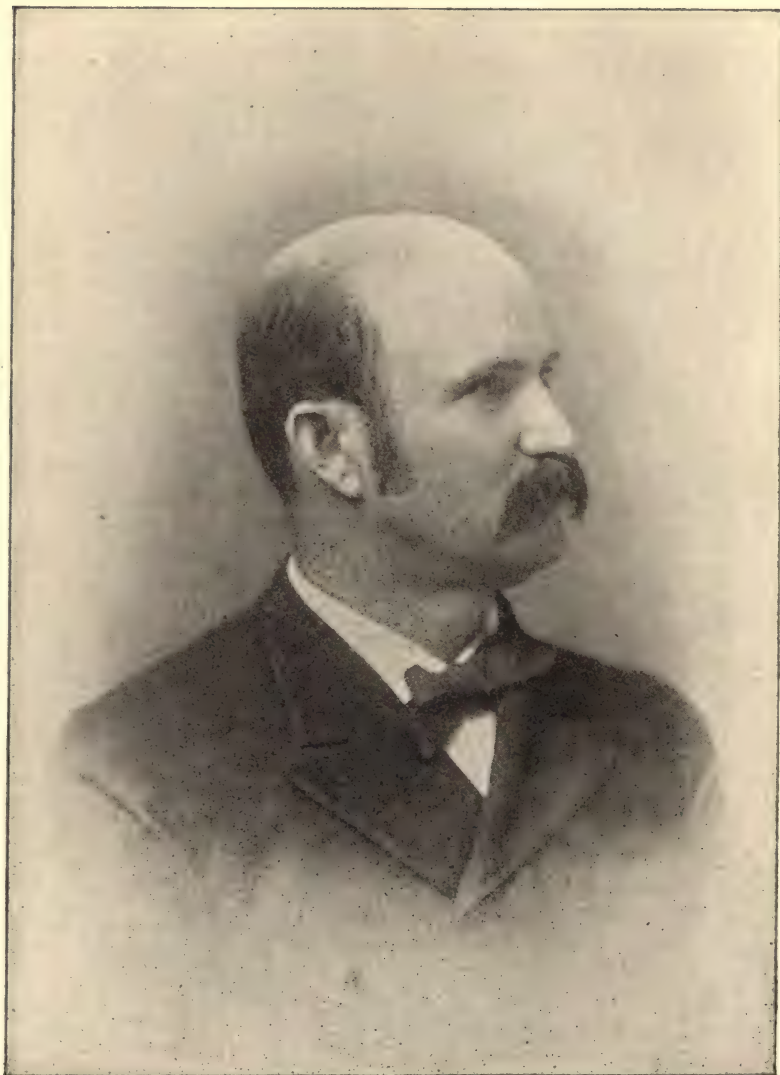
MILLARD FILLMORE.

ON the death of General Taylor, his successor, according to the Constitution, was the Vice-President. The gentleman then filling that position was Millard Fillmore, an eminent lawyer of New York. He was comparatively a young man, having been born on the 7th of January, 1800, at Summer Hill, Cayuga County, New York. His father being poor, his means of education had been limited. Apprenticed at the age of fourteen to a clothier, he found time during his evenings to gratify an insatiable thirst for knowledge by reading. His studious habits, fine personal appearance, and gentlemanly bearing having attracted the attention of a lawyer in the neighborhood, that gentleman offered to receive

him in his office and to assist him pecuniarily until he should be admitted to the bar. This offer young Fillmore, then in his nineteenth year, thankfully accepted. With this help, and by teaching during the winters, he was enabled to prosecute his studies to a successful issue, and in 1823 was admitted to the bar, opening an office in the village of Aurora, New York. In 1826, he married Miss Abigail Powers, a lady of eminent worth.

Mr. Fillmore steadily rose in his profession. In 1829, he was elected by the Whigs to the State Legislature, and soon afterward removed to Buffalo. In 1832, he was chosen a member of Congress, and again in 1837, but declined running a third time. He now had a wide reputation, and in the year 1847 was elected State Comptroller and removed to Albany. The following year, he was placed in nomination as Vice President on the ticket with General Taylor. When, on the 5th of March, 1849, Taylor took the Presidential chair, Mr. Fillmore, by virtue of his office, became President of the United States Senate. Here, the first presiding officer to take so firm a step, he announced his determination, in spite of all precedents to the contrary, to promptly call Senators to order for any offensive words they might utter in debate.

When, after the unexpected death of General Taylor, on July 9th, 1850, the office of chief executive devolved upon Mr. Fillmore, he found



DAVID B. HILL,
New York's Candidate for Nomination in 1892.

his position no easy or pleasant one. His political opponents had a majority in both houses of Congress. The controversy on the slavery question had embittered public feeling, and it required a skillful pilot to guide the ship of state safely through the perils by which she was surrounded. The compromise measures of Mr. Clay, to which we have already referred in our sketch of General Taylor, were finally passed, and received the approving signature of Mr. Fillmore. One of these measures was the admission of California as a free State; another was the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. These were thought to be concessions to the cause of freedom; while, on the other hand, to satisfy the pro-slavery agitators, a bill was passed to give the owners of slaves power to recapture fugitive slaves in any part of the free States and carry them back without a jury trial. But, though enacted in the hope of allaying sectional animosity, these measures brought about only a temporary calm, while they aggravated the violence of extremists both North and South.

The compromise measures and the fitting out of the famous Japan expedition were the principal features of Mr. Fillmore's otherwise uneventful Administration. On the 4th of March, 1853, he retired from office, and immediately afterward took a long tour through the Southern States, where he met with a cordial reception.

In 1855, Mr. Fillmore visited Europe. He was everywhere received with those marks of attention which, according to European ideas, are due to those who have occupied the most distinguished positions. On his return home, in 1856, he was nominated for the Presidency by the so-called "Know-nothing," or "American" party; but being very decidedly defeated, he retired to private life. He died at Buffalo, New York, on the 8th of March, 1874.

FRANKLIN PIERCE,

FOURTEENTH President of the United States, was born at Hillsborough, N. H., November 23d, 1804. His father, General Benjamin Pierce, was a soldier of the Revolution, and was a man of considerable local repute, having also served as Governor of New Hampshire. Graduating from Bowdoin College in 1824, Mr. Pierce studied law with the celebrated Levi Woodbury, and commenced practice in his native town in 1837. He married in 1834. He early entered the political field and, in 1833, after having previously served several terms in the State Legislature, was elected to Congress. Here he showed himself an earnest State-rights Democrat, and was regarded as a fair working member. In 1837, when but thirty-three years of age, he was

ected to the National Senate and, during the following year, removed to Concord, where he at once took rank among the leading lawyers of the State.

Though Mr. Pierce had declined the office of Attorney-General of the United States, offered to him by President Polk, he, nevertheless, when hostilities were declared against Mexico, accepted a brigadier-generalship in the army, successfully marching with twenty-four hundred men from the sea-coast to Puebla, where he reinforced General Scott. The latter, on the arrival of Pierce, immediately prepared to make his long-contemplated attack upon the City of Mexico. At the battle of Contreras, on the 19th of August, 1847, where he led an assaulting column four thousand strong, General Pierce showed himself to be a brave and energetic soldier. Early in the fight his leg was broken by his horse falling upon him, yet he kept his saddle during the entire conflict, which did not cease till eleven o'clock at night. The next day also, he took part in the still more desperate fight at Churubusco, where, overcome by pain and exhaustion, he fainted on the field. At Molino Del Rey, where the hottest battle of the war was fought, he narrowly escaped death from a shell which bursted beneath his horse.

The American army triumphantly entered the City of Mexico on the 13th of September, 1847. General Pierce remained there until the following

December, when he returned home and resumed the practice of his profession. In the Democratic Convention which met at Baltimore, June 1st, 1852, Cass, Buchanan, and Douglas were the prominent candidates. After thirty-five indecisive ballots Franklin Pierce was proposed, and on the forty-ninth ballot he was nominated for the Presidency. He was elected by an overwhelming majority, and was inaugurated Chief Magistrate on the 4th of March, 1853, receiving two hundred and fifty-four electoral votes, while his opponent, General Winfield Scott, received but forty-two.

Though both the great parties of the country had adopted platforms favoring the recent compromise measures of Clay, and deprecating any renewal of the agitation of the slavery question, General Pierce's Administration, by reason of the bringing up of that very question, was one of the most stormy in our history. Douglas's bill for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska, by which the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 was repealed allowing slavery to enter where it had been forever excluded, and which, having the support of the President, became a law on the last day of May, 1853, excited the most intense indignation in the free States, and greatly increased the strength of the anti-slavery power. In Kansas a bitter contest, almost attaining the proportions of civil war, began between the partisans of the South and the North. This contest was

still raging when Mr. Pierce's term drew to its close. Other events of his Administration were the bombardment of Greytown, in Central America, under orders from our Government; efforts under Government direction for the acquisition of Cuba; and the use of the President's official influence and patronage against the Anti-Slavery settlers of Kansas.

His friends sought to obtain his nomination for a second term, but did not succeed. On the 4th of March, 1857, therefore, he retired to his home at Concord. That home, already bereaved by the loss of three promising boys—his only children,—was now to have a still greater loss,—that of the wife and afflicted mother, who, grief-stricken at the sudden death, by a railroad accident, of her last boy, sunk under consumption, leaving Mr. Pierce alone in the world—wifeless as well as childless.

The sorrowing ex-President soon after took a trip to Madeira, and made a protracted tour in Europe, returning home in 1860. During the Civil War he delivered in Concord a speech, still known as the "Mausoleum of Hearts Speech," in which he is regarded as having expressed a decided sympathy for the Confederates. He died at Concord on the 8th of October, 1869, having lost much of his hold on the respect of his fellow-citizens, both North and South, by his lack of decision for either.

JAMES BUCHANAN,

FIFTEENTH President of the United States, was born in Franklin County, Pa., April 22d, 1791. His father, a native of the North of Ireland, who had come eight years before to America, with no capital but his strong arms and energetic spirit, was yet able to give the bright and studious boy a good collegiate education at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., where he graduated in 1809. He then began the study of law at Lancaster, and, after a three years' course, was admitted to practice in 1812. He rose rapidly in his profession, the business of which increased with his reputation, so that, at the age of forty, he was enabled to retire with an ample fortune.

Mr. Buchanan early entered into politics. When but twenty-three years old, he was elected to the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Though an avowed Federalist, he not only spoke in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the War of 1812, but likewise marched as a private soldier to the defense of Baltimore. In 1820, he was elected to the lower House of Congress, where he speedily attained eminence as a finished and energetic speaker. His political views are shown in the following extract from one of his speeches in Congress: "If I know myself, I am a politician

neither of the West nor the East, of the North nor of the South. I therefore shall forever avoid any expressions the direct tendency of which must be to create sectional jealousies, and at length disunion—that worst of all political calamities.” That he sincerely endeavored in his future career to act in accordance with the principles here enunciated no candid mind can doubt, however much he may be regarded to have failed in doing so, especially during the eventful last months of his Administration.

In 1831, at the close of his fifth term, Mr. Buchanan, having declined a re-election to Congress, was sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to St. Petersburg, where he concluded the first commercial treaty between the United States and Russia. On his return home in 1833, he was elected to the National Senate. Here he became one of the leading spirits among the supporters of President Jackson, and also supported the Administration of Martin Van Buren. He was re-elected to the Senate, and his last act as a Senator was to report favorably on the admission of Texas, he being the only member of the Committee on Foreign Relations to do so.

On the election of Polk to the Presidency, in 1845, Mr. Buchanan was selected to fill the important position of Secretary of State. He strongly opposed the “Wilmot Proviso,” and all other provisions for the restriction of slavery.

At the close of Polk's term, he withdrew to private life, but was subsequently sent by President Pierce as our Minister to England. It was while acting in this capacity that he united with Mason and Soulé in the once celebrated "Ostend Manifesto," in which strong ground was taken in favor of the annexation of Cuba to the United States, by purchase, if possible, but if necessary, by force.

Returning home in 1856, he was nominated as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. and, after a stormy campaign, elected, receiving one hundred and seventy-four out of three hundred and three electoral votes. His opponents were John C. Fremont, Republican, and Millard Fillmore, American. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1857. With the exception of a slight difficulty with the Mormons in Utah, and of the admission into the Union of Minnesota in 1858, and of Oregon in 1859, the chief interest of Mr. Buchanan's Administration centered around the slavery controversy.

At the time of his inauguration, it is true, the country looked confidently forward to a period of political quiet. But, unhappily, the Kansas difficulty had not been settled. The Free-State party in that territory refused obedience to the laws passed by the local Legislature, on the grounds that that Legislature had been elected by fraudulent means. They even chose a rival Legislature, which, however, the President refused to recog-

nize. Meanwhile the so-called regular Legislature, which Congress had sanctioned, passed a bill for the election of delegates by the people to frame a State Constitution for Kansas. An election was accordingly held; the Convention met, and after a stormy and protracted session, completed its work. The Lecompton Constitution, as it was called, when laid before Congress, met with strong opposition from the Republicans, on the ground that it had been fraudulently concocted. The President, however, gave it all his influence, believing that it would bring peace to the country, while not preventing Kansas from being a free State, should its people so desire; and finally, after a struggle of extraordinary violence and duration, it received the sanction of Congress.

But quiet was not restored. In the North, the feeling against the President and his party became intense. The election in 1860 resulted in the triumph of Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate for the Presidency. The period between Lincoln's election and his inauguration was one of peculiar trial to President Buchanan. An attempt to incite a slave insurrection, made at Harper's Ferry, in 1859, by John Brown, of Kansas, for which he was hanged by the authorities of Virginia, had created a profound sensation in the South, where it was regarded by many as indicative of the fixed purpose of the North to destroy slavery at all hazards. The election of Lincoln following

so soon after this event, added strength to their apprehensions. As soon as the result of the canvass became known, South Carolina seceded from the Union. Mr. Buchanan, apparently regarding the fears and complaints of the South as not without some just grounds, seems to have endeavored to bring about a peaceful solution of the difficulties before him by attempts at conciliation. But however good his intentions may have been, his policy, which has been characterized as weak, vacillating, and cowardly, so signally failed, that when, on the 4th of March, 1861, he retired from the Presidency, he handed over to his successor an almost hopelessly divided Union, from which seven States had already seceded.

Mr. Buchanan also used his influence for the purchase of Cuba as a means of extending slave territory. He permitted the seizure of Southern forts and arsenals, and the removal of muskets from Northern to Southern armories as the secession movements matured, and in his message of December, 1860, he directly cast upon the North the blame of the disrupted Union.

Remaining in Washington long enough to witness the installation of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Buchanan withdrew to the privacy of Wheatland, his country home, near Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. Here he spent the remainder of his days, taking no prominent part in public affairs. In 1866, he published a volume entitled, *Mr. Buchanan's*

Administration, in which he explained and defended the policy he had pursued while in the Presidential office. He never married. His death occurred at his mansion at Wheatland, on the 1st of June, 1868

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

SIXTEENTH President of the Union, was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, on the 12th of February, 1809. His parents were extremely poor, and could give him but scant opportunities of education. It is supposed that his ancestors came to this country from England among the original followers of William Penn. About the middle of the last century they lived in Berks County, Pennsylvania, whence one branch of the family moved to Virginia. The subject of this sketch was taught to read and write by his mother, a woman of intelligence far above her humble station. When he was in his eighth year, the family removed to the then wilderness of Spencer County, Indiana, where, in the course of three or four years, the boy Abraham, who was quick and eager to learn, had a chance to acquire the rudiments of the more ordinary branches of such a common-school education as was to be obtained in that rude frontier district; but his mother died when he was about eleven years old,

which was to him a sad loss. At the age of nineteen, he set out in a flat-boat, containing a cargo of considerable value, on a voyage to New Orleans. While passing down the Mississippi, they were attacked by a thieving band of negroes, but they courageously beat off the robbers, and succeeded in reaching their destination safely.

In 1830, Lincoln's father removed to Decatur County, Illinois. Here Abraham assisted in establishing the new home. It was on this occasion that he split the famous rails from which, years after, he received his name of "the rail-splitter." During the severe winter which followed, by his exertions and skill as a hunter, he contributed greatly in keeping the family from starvation. The next two years he passed through as a farm-hand and as a clerk in a country store. In the Black-Hawk War, which broke out in 1832, he served creditably as a volunteer, and on his return home ran for the Legislature, but was defeated. He next tried store-keeping, but failed; and then, having learned something of surveying, worked two or three years quite successfully as a surveyor for the Government. In 1834, he was elected to the Legislature, in which he did the extremely unpopular act of recording his name against some pro-slavery legislation of that body. He soon after took up the study of law, being admitted to the bar in 1837, when he removed to Springfield, and began to practice. John T. Stuart

was his business partner. In 1842, he married Miss Mary Todd, daughter of Robert S. Todd, Esq., of Lexington, Kentucky. He rose rapidly in his profession, to which having served a second term in the Legislature, he devoted himself assiduously till 1844, during which year he canvassed the State in behalf of Mr. Clay, the Whig candidate for the Presidency. In 1847, he took his seat in the lower house of Congress, where he was the only Whig from the whole State of Illinois. Serving but a single term in Congress, Mr. Lincoln, in 1848, canvassed the State for General Taylor, and the following year was an unsuccessful candidate for a seat in the United States Senate. He now renewed his devotion to his legal pursuits, yet still retained a deep interest in national politics.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which created a profound sensation throughout the entire North, brought about a complete political revolution in Illinois, and the State went over to the Whigs. In this revolution Mr. Lincoln took a most active part, and gained a wide reputation as an effective stump speaker. In 1856, he was brought prominently before the first Republican National Convention, and came very near being nominated as its candidate for the Vice-Presidency. In 1858, as Republican candidate for United States Senator, he canvassed Illinois in opposition to Judge Douglas, the Democratic nominee.

Douglas was, perhaps, one of the most effective public speakers of the time, yet it is generally conceded that Lincoln, though he failed to obtain the Senatorship, was fully equal to his distinguished and no doubt more polished opponent. The rare versatility and comprehensiveness of Mr. Lincoln's mind found full illustration in this exciting contest.

During the next eighteen months, Mr. Lincoln visited various parts of the country, delivering speeches of marked ability and power; and when, in May, 1860, the Republican National Convention met at Chicago, he was, on the third ballot, chosen as its candidate for the Presidency. In consequence of a division in the Democratic party, he was elected, receiving one hundred and eighty out of three hundred and three electoral votes. In the popular vote the result was as follows: Lincoln, 1,887,610; Douglas, 1,291,574; Breckenridge, Pro-slavery Democrat, 885,082; Bell, Constitutional-Union party, 646,124: thus leaving Lincoln in the minority of the popular vote by nearly a million.

The election of Lincoln was at once made a pretext for dissolving the Union. Though he had repeatedly declared his intention not to interfere with the existing institutions of the South, and to hold inviolate his official oath to maintain the Constitution, all was of no avail to dissuade that section from its predetermined purpose. A

month before he was inaugurated six Southern States, having solemnly withdrawn from the Union, met in convention and framed the Constitution of a new and independent Confederacy.

The President-elect left his home in Springfield on the 11th of February, 1861, and proceeded by a somewhat circuitous route to Washington, delivering short, pithy addresses in the larger towns and cities through which he passed. He also visited the Legislatures of several Northern States, everywhere reiterating his purpose, while not disturbing the domestic relations of the South, to maintain the Union intact at all hazards. Though informed at Philadelphia that a plot had been formed for his assassination in Baltimore, he reached Washington on February 23d without molestation, and on the 4th of March was duly inaugurated in the presence of an immense assemblage from all parts of the country.

In his inaugural address the new President, assuring the people of the South that he had taken the oath to support the Constitution unreservedly, and that there were no grounds for any fear that "their property," peace, or persons were to be endangered, declared it to be his firm intention to execute the laws, collect duties and imposts, and to hold the public properties in all the States—with no bloodshed, however, unless it should be forced upon the national authority.

On entering upon the duties of his office, Mr. Lincoln found the condition of affairs far from encouraging. Seven States had already withdrawn from the Union, and others were preparing to follow their example. The credit of the Government was low; the army and navy not only small and inefficient, but scattered all through our wide domain; and the greater part of the public arms, through the treachery of certain officials, were in the possession of the seceded States. Still, he was hopeful and buoyant, and believed that the pending difficulties would soon be adjusted. Even when, on the 14th of April, 1861, the bombardment and capture of Fort Sumter by a Confederate Army roused the North to intense action, though he immediately issued a call for 75,000 volunteers, it was seemingly with but a faint idea that they would be needed. The fact that they were summoned for only three months—a period far from long enough for the organization of so large a body of men—is of itself sufficient evidence of the delusion under which he was laboring.

The battle of Bull Run, on the 21st of July, 1861, which resulted in the total route of the Government forces, in a great measure dispelled this delusion. The real magnitude of the contest now began to show itself to Mr. Lincoln. Yet his courage never faltered, nor was he less hopeful of the final triumph of the Union. Cheerfully



WILLIAM E. RUSSELL,
Governor of Massachusetts.

accepting the burden of cares and responsibilities so suddenly thrown upon him, he put his whole heart in the work before him, and not even the disasters of 1862, that gloomiest year of the war, could for a moment shake his confiding spirit. People were not wanting who found fault with the buoyant temper he displayed at that period; but his apparent cheeriness was of as much avail as our armies in bringing about the triumph which at last came.

Of the struggle which resulted in this triumph we shall give no details, only referring briefly to some of the more important actions of the President. The most momentous of these, without doubt, was the Emancipation Proclamation, issued on the 22d of September, 1862, and to take effect on the 1st of January, 1863, by which slavery was at once and forever done away with in the United States. In his message to Congress, the President thus explains this act: "In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free, honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth. * * * The way is plain, peaceful, glorious, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless."

In 1864, by a respectable majority in the popular vote and a large one in the electoral college, Mr Lincoln was re-elected to the Presidency.

At the period of his second inauguration, the complete triumph of the Federal authority over the seceded States was assured. The last battles of the war had been fought. War had substantially ceased. The President was looking forward to the more congenial work of pacification. How he designed to carry out this work we may judge from the following passage in his second inaugural: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all that may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Unfortunately, the kind-hearted Lincoln was not to carry out the work of pacification to which he looked forward with such bright anticipations. But a little more than a month after his second inauguration—on the night of the 14th of April, 1865—John Wilkes Booth, one of a small band of desperate conspirators, as insanely foolish as they were wicked, fired a pistol-ball into the brain of the President as he sat in his box at the theatre. The wound proved fatal in a few hours, Mr. Lincoln never recovering his consciousness.

The excitement which the assassination of the President occasioned was most intense. The whole country was in tears. Nor was this grief

confined to our own people. England, France, all Europe, and even the far-off countries of China and Japan, joined in the lamentation. Never was man more universally mourned, or more deserving of such widespread sorrow.

The funeral honors were grand and imposing. His body, having been embalmed, was taken to his home at Springfield, Illinois, passing through Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, and other large towns and cities. The entire road seemed to be lined with mourners, while in the chief cities the funeral ceremonies were equally solemn and magnificent.

ANDREW JOHNSON,

THE constitutional successor to President Lincoln, was born in Raleigh, N. C., December 29th, 1808. Prevented by the poverty of his parents from receiving any schooling, he was apprenticed, at the age of ten, to a tailor. On the expiration of his apprenticeship, he went to Greenville, Tenn., where he married. By his wife he was taught to write and to cipher, having already learned to read. Taking considerable interest in local politics, he formed a workingman's party in the town, by which he was elected alderman, and afterward Mayor. In 1835, he was elected to a seat in the Legislature.

Failing of re-election in 1837, he was again successful in 1839; and in 1841, was elected to the State Senate. His ability was now recognized and, in 1843, he was sent to Congress as a Representative of the Democratic party. Having served five successive terms in Congress, he was, in 1853, elected Governor of Tennessee, and again in 1855. Two years later, he was called upon to represent Tennessee in the United States Senate, where he speedily rose to distinction as a man of great native energy. The free homestead bill, giving one hundred and sixty acres of the public land to every citizen who would settle upon it and cultivate it a certain number of years, owes its passage to his persistent advocacy. On the slavery question he generally went with the Democratic party, accepting slavery as an existing institution, protected by the Constitution.

In the Presidential canvass of 1860, Mr. Johnson was a supporter of Breckinridge, but took strong grounds against secession when that subject came up. His own State having voted itself out of the Union, it was at the peril of his life that he returned home in 1861. Attacked by a mob on a railroad car, he boldly faced his assailants, pistol in hand, and they slunk away. On the 4th of March, 1862, he was appointed Military Governor of Tennessee. He entered upon the duties of his office with a courage and vigor that soon entirely reversed the condition of affairs in

the State. By March, 1864, he had so far restored order that elections were held for State and County officers, and the usual machinery of civil government was once more set in motion.

On the 4th of March, 1865, Mr. Johnson was inaugurated as Vice-President of the United States. The assassination of President Lincoln, a little more than a month afterward, placed him in the vacant chief executive chair. Though Mr. Johnson made no distinct pledges, it was thought by the tone of his inaugural that he would pursue a severe course toward the seceded States. Yet the broad policy of restoration he finally adopted, met the earnest disapproval of the great party by which he had been elected. The main point at issue was, "whether the seceded States should be at once admitted to representation in Congress, and resume all the rights they had enjoyed before the Civil War, without further guarantees than the surrender of their armies, and with no provision for protecting the emancipated blacks."

Johnson, opposed to making any restrictive conditions, therefore persistently vetoed the various reconstructive measures adopted by Congress. Though these measures were finally passed over the President's vetoes by two-thirds of the votes of each house, yet his determined opposition to their policy, on the ground that it was unconstitutional, gave Congress great offense. This feeling finally became so intense, that the House of Repre-

sentatives brought articles of impeachment against him. The trial—the first of its kind known in our history—was conducted by the United States Senate, presided over by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The impeachment failed, however, yet only lacked one vote of the two-thirds majority requisite to the President's conviction.

In 1866, Mr. Johnson made a tour to Chicago, in the course of which he made many petty speeches, which brought upon him both censure and ridicule, but he was regarded as politically harmless, and to the close of his term, March 4th, 1869, he was allowed to pursue his own policy with but little opposition. Retiring to his home at Greenville, he began anew to take an active part in the politics of his State. It required several years, however, for him to regain anything like his earlier popularity; but finally, in January, 1875, he succeeded in securing his election once more to the Senate of the United States, but he died on the 30th of the following July.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

HISTORY has recorded few instances of the rapid and unexpected rise of individuals in humble circumstances to the highest positions, more remarkable than that afforded by the life of Ulysses S. Grant, the eighteenth

President of the United States. He was the son of Jesse R. and Hannah Simpson Grant, both natives of Pennsylvania. He was born April 27th, 1822, at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio. His early education was merely that of the common schools of his day. By a conjunction of favoring circumstances, he passed, in 1839, from the bark-mill of his father's tannery to the Military Academy at West Point. He was a diligent but not distinguished student. Having graduated in 1843, the twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine, he signalized himself by his bravery in the Mexican War, being rewarded therefor by a captain's commission. He then married Miss Julia J. Dent, of Saint Louis, and, after spending several years with his regiment in California and Oregon, left the service in July, 1854, tried farming and the real estate business with moderate success, and finally was taken by his father as a partner in his leather store at Galena.

He was yet thus humbly employed when President Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 three months' men. Marching to Springfield at the head of a company of volunteers, his military knowledge made him exceedingly useful to Governor Yates, who retained him as mustering officer, until he was commissioned colonel of the Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, on the 17th of June, 1861. The following August, having been made a brigadier-general, he took command at Cai-

ro, where he displayed much activity and attracted some attention. On the 7th of November he fought the Battle of Belmont, where he had a horse shot under him. His capture of Fort Donelson, with all its defenders, on the 15th of February, 1862, after a severe battle resulting in the first real and substantial triumph of the war, at once gave Grant a national reputation. For this brilliant victory he was immediately rewarded by a commission as major-general of volunteers.

Soon after the capture of Donelson, General Grant was placed in command of an important expedition up the Tennessee River. At Pittsburg Landing, while preparing for an attack on Corinth, a part of his army was surprised, at daybreak of the 6th of April, by an overwhelming force of Confederates, and driven from their camp with severe loss. Rallying his men that evening under the protection of the gun-boats, Grant, having been reinforced during the night, renewed the battle the following morning, and, after an obstinate contest, compelled the enemy to fall back upon Corinth.

In July, General Grant was placed in command of the Department of West Tennessee, with his headquarters at Corinth, which the Confederates had evacuated in the previous May. On the 19th of September he gained a complete victory over the Confederates at Iuka, and then removed his headquarters to Jackson, Tennessee. Vicksburg,

on the Mississippi, having been strongly fortified and garrisoned by the enemy, the duty of taking that place devolved upon Grant. After several attempts against it from the north, all of which resulted more or less disastrously, he finally moved his army down the west bank of the river, and, crossing to the east side, at a point below the city, began, on the 18th of May, 1863, a formal siege, which lasted until the 4th of the ensuing July, when the place was surrendered, with nearly thirty thousand prisoners and an immense amount of military stores.

Grant's capture of Vicksburg, the result of that tenacity of purpose which is a marked trait in his character, was hailed with unbounded delight by the whole country. He was immediately commissioned a major-general in the regular army, and placed in command of the entire military Division of the Mississippi. Congress also, meeting in December, ordered a gold medal to be struck for him, and passed resolutions of thanks to him and his army. Still further, a bill reviving the grade of lieutenant-general was passed, and, on the 1st of March, 1864, Grant was appointed by President Lincoln to the position thus created.

Having now been placed at the head of an army of seven hundred thousand men, Grant, announcing that his headquarters would be in the field, "at once planned two movements, to be directed simultaneously against vital points of the

Confederacy." One of these, with Richmond for its point of attack, he commanded in person ; the other, against Atlanta, in Georgia, was headed by General Sherman.

On the 3d of May, Grant began the movement against Richmond, crossing the Rapidan, and pushing determinedly into the "Wilderness," where, met by Lee, a bloody battle was fought, foiling his first attempt to place himself between the Confederate Army and their threatened capital. Advancing by the left flank, he was again confronted by Lee at Spottsylvania, and compelled to make another flank movement, resulting in his again being brought to a stand by his wary antagonist. Declaring his determination "to fight it out on this line if it took him all summer," Grant still pushed on by a series of flank movements, each culminating in a sanguinary battle, in which his losses were fearful, and finally, passing Richmond on the east, crossed the James, and laid siege to the city of Petersburg, the capture of which now became the great problem of the war.

Grant crossed the James on the 15th of June, 1864. It was not until the beginning of April, 1865, after a series of desperate assaults, coming to a crisis in the battle of Five Forks, in which Grant gained a crowning triumph, that Petersburg finally succumbed. The fall of Petersburg compelled Lee to evacuate Richmond with the

meagre remnant of his army. He retreated westward toward Danville, followed closely by Grant. At the same time Sherman, who had met with almost unparalleled success in his part of the concerted movement, was marching triumphantly through Alabama and Georgia to the sea-coast, along which he swept northward, and was threatening Lee from another quarter, so that, placed between two large armies, both flushed with victory, no other resource was left him than to surrender the thin remnant of his force. This he did, to Grant, at Appomattox Court-House, on the 9th of April, 1865, and the "Great Rebellion" was thus virtually brought to a close.

On the conclusion of the war, Grant made Washington his headquarters, and was, in July, 1866, commissioned General of the United States Army—a rank which had been specially created to do him honor. In August, 1867, he for awhile acted as Secretary of War *ad interim* under President Johnson; but, notwithstanding the latter's earnest request to the contrary, he, when the Senate refused to sanction Stanton's removal, restored the position to that gentleman, from whom it had been taken.

In the Republican National Convention, held at Chicago, on the 21st of May, 1868, General Grant was on the first ballot unanimously nominated as the candidate of that party for the Presidency. His Democratic competitor was Horatio Sey-

mour, of New York. The election resulted in Grant receiving two hundred and fourteen out of two hundred and ninety-four electoral votes. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1869. Though brought into conflict with some of the prominent men of his party by his determined effort to bring about the annexation of San Domingo to the United States, President Grant's first official term gave satisfaction to the mass of his Republican adherents. During the first six months of his term the public debt was reduced some fifty millions of dollars, order and prosperity were rapidly restored throughout the Southern States, and the hatred and animosities of the war were greatly softened, though Grant's firmness in many instances had begotten severe opposition.

In their National Convention at Philadelphia, on the 5th of June, 1872, he was nominated by acclamation for a second term. His opponent in this contest was Horace Greeley, who was supported by both the Democrats and the so-called Liberal Republicans. The election resulted in the success of General Grant, who received two hundred and sixty-eight out of the three hundred and forty-eight electoral votes cast. He was inaugurated a second time on the 4th of March, 1873.

Grant's second term was one of improving prospects, though the transitions from the excessive inflations attendant on the war to the solid

business basis of peace made financial affairs unsteady and led to the famous panic of '73. But prosperity returned gradually and on a more solid basis, and the great Centennial Exposition of 1876, at Philadelphia, was a fitting crown upon the final year of Grant's eight years of Presidential work and honor. In his last message to Congress he urged compulsory common-school education where other means of education are not provided; the exclusion of all sectarianism from public schools; the prohibition of voting, after 1890, to all persons unable to read and write; the permanent separation of Church and State; entire religious freedom for all sects, and legislation to speedily secure a return to sound currency.

General Grant was strongly urged to accept the nomination for a third term, but declined the honor and retired to private life, March 4th, 1877. After his long-continued public service, an extended trip abroad was deemed desirable by the General. Arrangements were matured accordingly, and on May 17th, 1877, he sailed from Philadelphia in the steamer *Indiana*. His journey was prosperous in every respect. He made the tour of the world and reached San Francisco September 20th, 1879. Everywhere he was the recipient of the highest honors. The most distinguished crowned heads and military leaders of all nations were proud to do him honor, and he in return did many personal friendly offices which were most

gratefully recognized. He finally settled in New York city, where fatal sickness overtook him, and he died July 23d, 1885.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, the nineteenth incumbent of the Presidential chair, was born at Delaware, Ohio, October 4th, 1822. He enjoyed the most favorable surroundings of refinement and culture in his youth, and graduated at Kenyon College in 1842. In 1845, he graduated from the Harvard Law School and began practice in Fremont, Ohio, from which place he removed to Cincinnati in 1849. He served as City Solicitor for several years, until the breaking out of the war, when he took the field as major of the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers. He had a splendid record, rising to the command of a division, being breveted major-general, and continuing until June 1st, 1865, when he resigned his rank and returned to Cincinnati.

In December, 1865, he entered Congress, to which he had been elected before he left the army. He was re-elected to this position, but resigned to become Governor of Ohio, to which office he was three times chosen, an honor never before conferred in that State. The prominent issues in his last campaign for the Governorship were the

currency and the school questions. So satisfactory were his views on these measures, that he received much favorable mention for nomination in the Presidential campaign then approaching.

On June 16th, 1876, the Republican Convention met at Cincinnati, and on the seventh ballot Hayes received the nomination over James G. Blaine and Benjamin H. Bristow. Hayes received three hundred and eighty-four votes, Blaine three hundred and fifty-one, and Bristow twenty-one. The contest was bitter in the Convention and in the succeeding canvass, and its close was a disputed election, the electoral votes of Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana being claimed by both parties, as was one electoral vote of Oregon also. The contest was finally referred to an Electoral Commission, which decided by a vote of eight to seven that Hayes was elected, and he, accordingly, succeeded General Grant in the office on March 4th, 1877, the inauguration occurring on the next day, Monday, March 5th. The great feature of this Administration was the full resumption of specie payments, a success achieved without jar or confusion of any kind in the business of the country.

At the close of his term, March 4th, 1881, Mr. Hayes turned over the Administration to his successor amid peace and prosperity such as the nation seldom enjoyed, and returned to his home in Ohio, where he still lives (July, 1884), respected and beloved by all his fellow-citizens.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

THE nation's choice for the twenty-fourth Presidential term, James Abram Garfield, was born November 19th, 1831, at Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. His ancestors were early immigrants of New England, and they bore noble part in all the hardships and sufferings of the Revolutionary and earlier periods. His parents were Abram and Eliza Garfield, his father dying when James was but a child, and his mother surviving to see his exaltation to the Presidency and his untimely end.

James Garfield's early life was one filled with the struggles incident to poverty on the frontier settlements. On the farm, on the canal, and at the carpenter's bench, he toiled energetically, reading and studying all the while, that he might fit himself for college. He finally betook himself to teaching as a means of subsistence, and while so engaged pressed his own education diligently. He decided to enter Williams College, Mass., which he did, in June, 1854, in a class nearly two years advanced. He had saved some money, but he worked during his vacations and at spare moments, and so was enabled to complete his course, though somewhat in debt, graduating August, 1856. While yet a student, he became much interested in politics and made some speeches on his favorite views.

After his graduation, he entered Hiram College, Ohio, as a teacher of ancient languages and literature, and soon after became its President. Meanwhile, he was active in a wide variety of good works, preaching, addressing temperance meetings, making political speeches, and at the same time pursuing the study of the law. In 1858, he married Lucretia Rudolph, who had been a fellow-student with him in his academic schooldays.

As a logical and effective political speaker, Garfield soon became prominent, and in 1859 was elected to the Senate of his native State, where he immediately took high rank, although he still continued to be much engaged in literary and religious work. In August, 1861, he solemnly considered the question of entering the army, and wrote his conclusion thus: "I regard my life as given to my country. I am only anxious to make as much of it as possible before the mortgage on it is foreclosed."

As a soldier, Garfield was thorough, brave, and efficient. He had a large share of hard fighting in the West and the Southwest, but he won high praise in it all, rising from the rank of lieutenant-colonel to that of brigadier-general and chief of staff to General Rosecrans, in which capacity he served until the battle of Chickamauga had been fought, when he was promoted to a major-generalship for "gallant and meritorious conduct" on that bloody field.

Just before this battle, Garfield had been chosen by his fellow-citizens in Ohio as their representative in Congress. To accept this post was deemed his duty by all his friends and advisers, so he resigned his commission on the 5th of December, 1863, and took his place in Congress at less than half the salary drawn by one of his military rank. In this new position he exercised the same earnest conscientiousness he had ever shown. He was a master workman in every line of duty there for seventeen years, during which period he left the imprint of his ability and patriotism as thoroughly upon the legislation of the country as any one man in public service. He certainly realized the meaning of the title, "a public benefactor," as defined in his own speech made on December 10th, 1878, in which he said: "The man who wants to serve his country must put himself in the line of its leading thought, and that is the restoration of business, trade, commerce, industry, sound political economy, hard money, and the payment of all obligations, and the man who can add anything in the direction of accomplishing any of these purposes is a public benefactor."

No man with such an ideal could fail to at once take high rank. Nor did Garfield fail to do so. At the outset he was recognized as a leader, and his influence grew with his service. He was at once appointed on the Military Committee, under the chairmanship of General Schenck and the col-

leagueship of Farnsworth, both fresh from the field. In this work he was of great service—just as Rosecrans anticipated he would be. His thorough knowledge of the wants of the army was of the first value in all legislation pertaining to military matters. He was appointed chairman of a select committee of seven appointed to investigate the alleged frauds in the money-printing bureau of the Treasury, and on other very important and complicated matters he rendered service of the greatest value.

He did most excellent work, as an orator, on many momentous questions, as the following partial list of his published Congressional speeches will show: "Free Commerce between the States;" "National Bureau of Education;" "The Public Debt and Specie Payments;" "Taxation of United States Bonds;" "Ninth Census;" "Public Expenditures and Civil Service;" "The Tariff;" "Currency and the Banks;" "Debate on the Currency Bill;" "On the McGarrahan Claim;" "The Right to Originate Revenue Bills;" "Public Expenditures;" "National Aid to Education," "The Currency;" "Revenues and Expenditures;" "Currency and the Public Faith;" "Appropriations;" "Counting the Electoral Vote;" "Repeal of the Resumption Law;" "The New Scheme of American Finance;" "The Tariff;" "Suspension and Resumption of Specie Payments;" "Relation of the National Government to Science;" "Sugar Tariff."

It was a surprise to nobody, but a real pleasure to multitudes, when at Chicago, on June 8th, 1880, James A. Garfield received the nomination for the Presidency by three hundred and ninety-nine votes in a total of seven hundred and fifty-five. This was upon the thirty-sixth ballot of the nominating Convention, but not until then had Garfield been prominently brought forward. His nomination was at once made unanimous in the Convention, and hailed with joy throughout the land. His chief opponent was the superb soldier, Major-General Winfield S. Hancock, but Garfield and Arthur received two hundred and fourteen of three hundred and sixty-nine electoral votes and secured the highest offices in the gift of the nation.

Garfield was inaugurated amid general satisfaction throughout the nation. His venerable mother saw her son's exaltation on that memorable Inauguration Day, and received from him, as the newly made President, his kiss of filial love. Every department of the public service felt the force of the new regime, and prosperity beamed on every side until the fatal Saturday, July 2d, 1881, when the assassin's bullet cut short the era of joy and hopefulness which had just fairly dawned. After weeks of patient suffering he died at Elberon, N. J., September 29, 1881.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

THE exodus from foreign lands to this country has at all times since the early years of the present century been remarkable for its steadiness—though varying during the decades. A home in freedom and a chance for a fortune in climes where centuries have not bound with iron every man's position is always an incentive to brave spirits.

Among those who took the tide in its flow, at the beginning of the twenties, was a young Protestant Irishman from Ballymena, County Antrim, who bore the name of William Arthur. He was eighteen years of age, a graduate of Belfast College, and thoroughly imbued with the intention of becoming a Baptist clergyman. In this he persevered, was admitted to the ministry, took a degree of D.D., and followed a career of great usefulness, which did not terminate until he died, at Newtonville, near Albany, October 27th, 1875. He was in many respects a remarkable man. He acquired a wide fame in his chosen career, and entered successfully the great competition of authors. He published a work on *Family Names* that is to-day regarded as one of the curiosities of English erudite literature.

He married, not long after entering the ministry, an American, Malvina Stone, who bore him

a family of two sons and five daughters. Of these, Chester Allan, the subject of this sketch, was born at Fairfield, Franklin County, Vermont, October 5th, 1830. From his home studies he went to a wider field of instruction in the institutions of Schenectady, in the grammar school of which place he was prepared for entering Union College. This he did at the age of fifteen (1845), and took successfully the regular course, excelling in all his studies and graduating very high in the class of 1848.

On graduating he entered the law school at Ballston Springs. By rigid economy and hard work, he had managed to save five hundred dollars, and with this in his pocket he went to New York, and entered the law office of Erastus D. Culver, afterward minister to one of the South American States and a judge of the Civil Court of Brooklyn. Soon after entering Judge Culver's office, he was—in 1852—admitted to the bar, and formed the firm of Culver, Partsen & Arthur, which was dissolved in 1837. No sooner had he won his title to appear in the courts, than he formed a partnership with an old friend, Henry D. Gardner, with an intention of practicing in the West, and for three months these young gentlemen roamed through the Western States in search of a place to locate. In the end, not satisfied, they returned to New York and began practice.

The law career of Mr. Arthur includes some notable cases. One of his first cases was the cele-

brated Lemmon suit. In 1852, Jonathan and Juliet Lemmon, Virginia slaveholders, intending to emigrate to Texas, went to New York to await the sailing of a steamer, bringing eight slaves with them. A writ of habeas corpus was obtained from Judge Paine to test the question whether the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law were in force in that State. Judge Paine rendered a decision holding that they were not, and ordering the Lemmon slaves to be liberated. Henry L. Clinton was one of the counsel for the slaveholders. A howl of rage went up from the South, and the Virginia Legislature authorized the Attorney-General of that State to assist in taking an appeal. William M. Evarts and Chester A. Arthur were employed to represent the people, and they won their case, which then went to the Supreme Court of the United States. Charles O'Connor here espoused the cause of the slaveholders, but he, too, was beaten by Messrs. Evarts and Arthur, and a long step was thus taken toward the emancipation of the black race.

Mr Arthur always took an interest in politics and the political surroundings of his day. His political life began at the age of fourteen, as a champion of the Whig party. He shared, too, in the turbulence of political life at that period, and it is related of him during the Polk-Clay canvass that, while he and some of his companions were raising an ash pole in honor of Henry Clay, some

Democratic boys attacked the party of Whigs, and young Arthur, who was the recognized leader of the party, ordered a charge, and, taking the front ranks himself, drove the young Democrats from the field with broken heads and subdued spirits. He was a delegate to the Saratoga Convention that founded the Republican party in New York State. He was active in local politics, and he gradually became one of the leaders. He nominated, and by his efforts elected, the Hon. Thomas Murphy a State Senator. When the latter resigned the Collectorship of the Port, in November, 1871, Arthur was appointed by President Grant to fill the vacancy.

He was nominated for the Vice-Presidency at Chicago on the evening of Tuesday, June 10th. He was heartily indorsed by the popular and electoral vote, and on the death of President Garfield, September 19th, 1881, he assumed the Presidential chair. His Administration was uneventful, but was attended with general peace and prosperity. He died November 18th, 1886.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, twenty-third President of the United States, comes of an illustrious ancestry. Whether the Cromwellian Harrison transmitted to our Chief Magistrate any of his sterling qualities or not, is matter of little moment. The immediate ancestors of Benjamin Harrison were such as transmit the blessing of noble heredity to their descendants. The first of these of whom we need speak was Benjamin Harrison, of Berkley, Virginia, who has the immortal inscription attached to his name—Signer of the Declaration of Independence. This illustrious American had several children, of whom William Henry Harrison was second son. William Henry Harrison won distinction as a soldier, as a civil officer, and as a man, his distinguished career ending in his elevation to the Presidency of the United States. This high position he held but one month, when he died, after having served his country through a period of fifty years. His third son was christened John Scott Harrison, a gentleman of quiet habits, who represented his district twice in Congress, but declined a nomination for the Lieutenant-Governorship of Ohio, and retired to the duties of his rural home, where he died in 1878, loved by his neighbors and respected

by all who knew him. His second son was the Benjamin Harrison of our sketch, who was born at North Bend, Ohio, in his grandfather's house, on the 20th day of August, 1833.

Benjamin was brought up to an abundance of hard work as a farmer's boy in a comparatively new country, but his toil was generally interspersed with hunting, fishing, and the ordinary rural sports of the time, and he was famous as an expert shot with the rifle. He attended an old-fashioned country school as opportunity offered until 1847, when, with his elder brother, he was sent to school near Cincinnati, in what became known as Farmer's College. Here he spent two years, applying himself to Latin, Greek, mathematics, and the usual academic studies. He next entered Miami University at Oxford, Ohio. After his graduation from this institution, he decided to study law, and entered, as a student, the office of Stover & Gwynne, one of the notable law firms of Cincinnati. While thus engaged, he lived at the house of his sister, Mrs. Eaton, whose husband was a physician in active practice. Before he had quite finished his legal course, he returned to Oxford, where, in his college days, he had become engaged to Miss Caroline W. Scott, daughter of Dr. John W. Scott, president of an academy for young ladies at that place. The youthful couple were married on the 20th of October, 1853; soon after which, with his wife, the young bride-

groom returned to his father's place below Cincinnati, where he continued his studies, going up frequently to the office for examination. While thus occupied he was on the lookout for a location. His father's farm touched the boundary line of Indiana, which State became as familiar to him as his native Ohio, and he finally resolved to establish himself in Indianapolis, whither, having passed his period of probation, he betook himself in March, 1854.

At that time the young lawyer was small of stature, slender in form, and what might be called a blonde. His eyes were gray, tinged with blue, his hair light, while he dressed plainly, paying little attention to the canons of fashion. He was modest in manner, even diffident; but he had a pleasant voice and look, and did not lack for words to express himself. On the whole his appearance and non-assertive manner were not calculated to advance him rapidly in a profession which demands a fair measure of self-assurance.

But he won his way, and in the fall of 1854 set up housekeeping on the south side of Vermont street, east of New Jersey street. The residence was very modest, in accordance with the renter's income. It was a structure of one story, with three apartments, of which the front was used as a bed-room, the next as kitchen and dining-room. There was also a shed-kitchen attached. Sometimes they had a "help," though, as a rule, Mrs.

Harrison did the cooking, and was herself the housekeeper. He assisted her all he could. Not unfrequently he sawed the wood she required ; his last duty before going to the office at morning and noon was to fill the wood-box and buckets. Abroad and at home he was void of affectation or pretense. He struggled vigorously against getting in debt and succeeded. Referring to that period, he laughs, and says, " They were close times, I tell you. A five dollar bill was an event. There was one good friend through it all—Robert Browning, the druggist. I shall always recollect him with gratitude. He believed in me. When things were particularly tight I could go into his store and borrow five dollars from the drawer. A ticket in its place was all that was required. Such friends make life worth living."

When the gloom of the civil war began to darken, Mr. Harrison felt that duty called him, and raising a company in his own city he was soon in camp. His first commission was as Second Lieutenant, but when the regiment was full he was made its Colonel, his command being the Seventieth Indiana. The regiment found hard service along the western rivers, and finally in the advance on Atlanta, in all of which Colonel Harrison distinguished himself for bravery and fidelity. He could always be depended upon to do the duty assigned him, and could be trusted in any emergency. His soldiers came to feel toward him

growing confidence that found expression in the title, "Little Ben," the sobriquet by which they still know him. Colonel Harrison showed conspicuous skill and bravery at Resaca, New Hope Church, Gilga Church, Kenesaw, Peach Tree Creek, Nashville, and in many minor battles. At Peach Tree Creek his corps commander, General Hooker, saluted him with this bluff commendation, "By God, I'll make you a Brigadier-General for this fight." After the capture of Savannah, Harrison was ordered to join Sherman, which he did, and resumed command of his old brigade in the Third Division of the Twentieth Army Corps, with which he marched, *via* Richmond, to Washington for the Grand Review.

General Harrison began his political career as a stump speaker under circumstances that were not very exciting. His first essay was in nowise distinguishable from the first essays of young men generally. In 1855 his law partner, Mr. William Wallace, became a candidate for clerk of Marion County and he took to the stump to help him. The first meeting he addressed was at Acton, on the line of the road from Cincinnati to Indianapolis. The depot building, with the narrow platform, was made available for the purpose. He stood on the railroad track between the rails, while his audience—15 to 20 persons in all—occupied the platform. In 1856 the Fremont campaign came on. There was

much political excitement. The election of a President of the United States furnished a broader theme to an ambitious speaker than the election of a county clerk. The news having reached Indianapolis of the nomination of the great "Pathfinder," the Republicans turned out spontaneously to ratify it. There was no programme for the affair. The speakers were such as could be reached upon the spur of the moment, and Harrison was one of those impressed into service for the occasion. He was in his law office at night after supper, doing some work, when W. W. Roberts, a druggist of the city, and some other gentlemen, came in and said that they were having a ratification meeting at the old Bee Hive corner, and that he must come and make a speech. He said he would not go; he did not know what to say, it was all so sudden. But they insisted, and finally picked him up—he was not very heavy in those days—put their arms about him, and bore him down-stairs, and kept on with him, his feet never touching the ground, until they put him on a store box that had been rolled out into the street at the corner. Upon readjusting himself after the unceremonious shaking up, he found himself surrounded by a crowd of 300 or 400 people. There was no way out of the affair but to speak; accepting the situation, he proceeded and did his best. That the speech was a success, and brought him reputation and

friends, may be inferred from the fact that in the same campaign he was first in demand in the school-houses through the country. Indeed, as a speaker, he was from that time a general favorite.

In 1860 he was nominated for Recorder of the Supreme Court. This opened to him a broader field of oratory, and he entered upon a canvass of the State. He took part in the Lincoln election canvass of 1864, and in the Grant campaigns of 1868 and 1872 he traveled all over the State, addressing large audiences. The election of 1876 was inaugurated in Indiana under peculiar circumstances. Many influential Republicans in the State insisted personally and by letter that General Harrison should allow his name to go on the ticket for Governor; but to all such overtures he gave one answer, positively declining the honor. The Hon. Godlove S. Orth was nominated, but some opposition having developed, that gentleman withdrew from the race pending the canvass, leaving the Republican ticket without a head.

General Harrison, supposing the matter settled, had gone away for a rest. He betook himself to the north shore of Lake Superior, where, beyond the reach of mail or telegraphic communication, he engaged in the pleasanter occupation of fishing for trout. He knew nothing of what was going on in politics at home until,

on his return, he reached Mackinaw. There, in a Chicago paper several days old, he read of Mr. Orth's withdrawal. Upon getting to Fort Wayne he was apprised by telegraph that the Central Committee had substituted him in Mr. Orth's place. Altogether, seeing no way to refuse the solicitation of the party, he acceded to it. The result of the election was unfavorable to him, but he ran very handsomely ahead of the rest of his ticket. Two years later he was called upon to preside over the State Convention, and in 1880 we find him in the National Convention at Chicago, chairman of the delegation from Indiana. In 1884 he again represented the State as delegate-at-large, and was discussed in connection with the nomination for the first place on the National ticket. He participated actively in the campaign of 1880, and, when the election was over, became a candidate for the United States Senate, and was unanimously chosen. He filled this exalted position with credit for the six years of his term, and then, with the respect of his political enemies, and the unabated confidence of his party, he retired to his law office and engaged once more in his profession. While there he was called to the higher honor of the Presidency, receiving, upon the eighth ballot of the National Convention, 544 votes out of a total of 820, the nomination then being made unanimous with great enthusiasm. During the campaign he conducted himself

with unerring wisdom, winning commendation and support every day, and at the National election receiving 233 electoral votes out of a total of 401. President Harrison was inaugurated March 4th, 1889. This day has become notorious for the drenching rain that fell from morning till night, in which, with an enthusiasm that many waters could not drown, a soaked and steaming mass of humanity waited hours to witness the inauguration ceremonies. General Harrison was urged by some cautious people, who remembered the fate of his grandfather, to hold the inaugural ceremonies within the Capitol, but he refused to disappoint the waiting multitude without, declaring that he could stand the storm as well as they. Nearly 20,000 persons marched in the escorting procession, which probably was not half as many as would have participated but for the storm.

It was a scene unparalleled in the history of inaugurations of Presidents that burst upon the eye of General Harrison when he emerged from the ponderous bronze doors at the eastern entrance of the Capitol. Before him stretched ten thousand square feet of platform, covered with rows of soaked chairs, and running with little streams of water. The great plaza on which this platform looked was literally covered with human beings, whose upturned faces formed a floor of countenances upon which the rain beat pitilessly. They had stood there for hours. Beyond was a vast

space covered with umbrellas, rising like black mushrooms. Still beyond were glimpses of the bright but soaked uniforms and glistening bayonets of the troops, who waited to escort the new chief of the Nation to the Executive mansion. When the President-elect appeared an outburst of cheers greeted him, and for a time drowned every other sound. After silence had been partly secured, the Chief Justice arose, and, baring his abundant white locks to the rain, held a Bible in his right hand ready to administer the oath of office. General Harrison also removed his hat. It was a most impressive scene. Standing with uncovered heads in the midst of a pelting rain-storm that drove the mist in their faces, the Chief Justice and the President-elect, surrounded by high officers of State, and in full view of an immense multitude of citizens of all classes of society, faced each other, while the former read the oath of office: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

General Harrison listened to the impressive formula with uplifted hand, and the retiring President, Mr. Cleveland, held the umbrella which sheltered his successor while the oath was being taken. A unanimous roar burst from the crowd when they saw that the oath was completed and

that President Harrison stood before them. The newly-qualified President then advanced to the railing, drew a manuscript from his overcoat pocket, and in a loud, clear tone delivered his address, the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate endeavoring with an umbrella to shelter him from the pitiless storm. When the address was concluded, a signal officer waved a white flag with a red square in its centre, when the boom of a cannon announced to the waiting throngs that the inaugural ceremony was ended. Then began the main display—the march and escort of the new President to his new home at the White House, where he from a grand stand reviewed the water-soaked parade.

The unerring wisdom with which General Harrison bore himself through all the tests of the campaign, and after his election, did not forsake him when he entered the duties of his high office. Appointing the ablest statesman in the Republican party—James G. Blaine, his Secretary of State, and nominating a Cabinet whose after ability demonstrated the wisdom of his choice, he entered upon an administration which was notable in many particulars, several questions of absorbing interest and possible peril arising, all of which were settled advantageously to this country.

It was in its foreign policy that the administration of President Harrison was particularly dis-

tinguished, and, in the management of this, the firmness and diplomatic skill of Secretary Blaine were of the utmost advantage to his chief. Of those foreign questions the first to demand attention was that relating to the German usurpations in the Samoan Islands. The United States had long demanded that the people of Samoa should be self-governed. In this the administration was so firm that Germany gave way, and a tripartite treaty of protection was signed by the United States, Great Britain, and Germany, guaranteeing the independence of the islands.

A second question of international importance arose from the murder of the New Orleans chief of police, by a band of Italian assassins, and the subsequent lynching of the parties arrested for this crime. The Italian government claimed these murderers as subjects, demanded reparation and punishment of the lynchers, and recalled its minister in default of an immediate favorable answer. President Harrison declined to be forced into precipitate action, and in the end the administration won a diplomatic battle with Italy, and forced her to recede from the uncalled-for hostile attitude she had assumed.

A third question of international relations was that respecting American rights in Behring Sea. The raids of Canadian poachers threatened to annihilate the valuable herds of fur-bearing seals, and Great Britain supported them in their opera-

tions. Secretary Blaine, as the administration mouthpiece, enforced the American claims so ably and resolutely that in the end Lord Salisbury consented to a settlement of the dispute by arbitration, and to aid the United States in prohibiting illegal sealing. At a later date the British government refused to continue the protection clause of this agreement, and the United States took it solely in hand, pending the meeting of the commission of arbitration.

A fourth international question arose from our relations with Chile, beginning in the seizure of a Chilean vessel, which was illegally smuggling arms from a port of the United States. In consequence, a Chilean mob, in the streets of Valparaiso, assailed a party of unarmed United States sailors, killing some and wounding others, while the police stood by and made no effort to defend them. President Harrison demanded reparation and apology. As no answer was given to this demand the administration prepared for war, deeming the offense one which no self-respecting government could overlook. This hostile attitude quickly brought from Chile the apology demanded, whereupon the warlike preparations ceased, the government having desired simple justice only.

Perhaps the most important event of an international character during the Harrison administration was the meeting of the so-called Pan-American Congress, an assembly of delegates

from all the American nations to consider questions of interest to the people of this continent. This meeting had been originally called, at Secretary Blaine's suggestion, during the Garfield administration. It was delayed till the Harrison administration, and discussed such questions as international arbitration in place of war, an intercontinental railway, an American monetary union, an international bank, and commercial reciprocity.

On all these subjects President Harrison and Secretary Blaine were in full sympathy, and they united in calling the attention of Congress to the suggestions of the Assembly. Most of these suggestions have been favorably considered, that for international arbitration being signed by representatives of most of the nations. Active steps have been taken toward the project of an intercontinental railway, while the proposition for commercial reciprocity was made an essential feature of the McKinley tariff bill—the most notable Congressional enactment of the Harrison administration. It was left to the discretion of President Harrison to establish reciprocal free trade in most of the articles of commercial importance between the United States and the various other countries of America. This has been accomplished with most of the American republics, and with the British and Spanish colonies, and to a partial extent with several European nations. The result promises to be of great advantage to

the commerce of the United States, which has grown very considerably, both in exports and imports, during the later years of the administration.

Of the various acts of Congress passed during the term of President Harrison, perhaps the most interesting was the International Copyright Law, which removed a reproach which had existed against this country since its inception—that of the piracy of mental products.

Of other important events controlled by the administration may be named the activity in the increase of the American navy; postal subsidies to steamships; the admission of certain large ocean steamers to American registry in case others of equal tonnage and power are built in this country; the suppression of the “ghost-dance” Indian outbreak, and the great progress made in inducing the Indians to accept lands in severalty; the adding of two new States—Wyoming and Idaho—to the Union; the extension of the postal delivery system: the whole forming a valuable record of progress.

During the spring of 1891, President Harrison made an extensive tour through the Southern and Pacific coast regions of the United States, his progress being everywhere marked by those brief and happy speeches in which he has proved himself an adept. This tour did more to acquaint the American people with the real mental calibre of their President than all his quiet

official deeds, of which men saw only the results, and whose origin they were too much given to attribute to members of the Cabinet.

Since that date President Harrison has risen steadily in the esteem of his party, and has become so prominent in the Republican councils as to have gained a re-nomination to the Presidency in the National Convention of 1892. At this writing the situation of 1888 is restored, with Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison for the standard-bearers of the two great parties, with the prospect of a campaign in which economical and political principles will far outweigh personalties, and with the coming November election to decide which of these two distinguished men the American people wishes to have as national executive during the ensuing Presidential term of office.

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